

# SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

*September-October, 1938*

---

## THE SOCIAL INFANT ON THE ROAD

CLARENCE MARSH CASE

*The University of Southern California*

It is not necessary to spend many words painting the serious nature of the traffic problem. It is great and growing, as all who think are aware. It is also widely recognized that very little headway is being made to solve it, in spite of the earnest and able efforts of a great many people, official and unofficial.

Following Professor Elwood's lead, sociologists have often pointed out that there is at bottom only one single social problem, and that is the problem of *living together*. The traffic problem is, therefore, simply the problem of living together on the streets and highways. And let us say at the outset that millions of people are not fully fit to meet the requirements of that sort of living together. As Professor Ogburn has expressed it, we are merely cave men trying to live in the modern city. We are equipped with a brand of human nature that fails to measure up to the demands of the civilized situation, which is a very recent one as far as the experience of our race is concerned. In no sphere of human interest has our social immaturity shown itself more crudely than in its failure to socialize the machine economy in general. And within that technological situation itself, our crude, barbarian infantility shows itself most plainly in the vast swarms of social infants romping through our streets and along our highways with magnificent motor cars which

their drivers are utterly unfitted to use in a truly social manner. Not that they are guilty of evil intent. They are merely bent on pleasing themselves, just like any other juvenile with his glittering Christmas toy. In the general scramble to grab the most for one's little self out of the machine economy in general, "we injure ourselves more with our elbows than we do with our fists," as Professor Cooley happily phrased it. Likewise it is with this particular absorption in our entrancing automobiles, wherein we shove or catapult one another off the road not from any desire to do so, but in the service of a childish mania for getting there first, or for getting nowhere in particular faster than anybody else.

When I say "we" in this connection I do not mean that all are equally guilty. On the contrary it became very clear at the outset of my own traffic studies, ten years ago, that most of the trouble on the road is caused by less than one tenth of the drivers. Many other students of the subject have arrived at the same conclusion. Of course, there is an element of guesswork in such reasoning because of the fact that statistics are insufficient, and in view of the fleet, and even flitting, nature of the specimens we have to observe whenever we try to investigate traffic behavior. In other words, we need life histories of dangerous or merely troublesome drivers. By this I mean we should have accurate records of their driving experiences and their own attitudes toward traffic laws and situations and toward themselves as drivers. The writer has made careful, first-hand observations of many thousands of situations, based on nearly a hundred and fifty thousand miles of touring in thirty-three states of this Union. Several scores of collaborators have conducted interviews or written accounts of motoring experiences, and placed them at our disposal. All this sociological evidence leads straight to the conclusion that a large but undetermined

number of drivers are unfit by reason of their personality traits to drive an automobile, and should not be allowed to do so.

At the same time *psychologists* have approached the problem from their own point of view and method of study. This led them to single out the individual driver and take him into the laboratory, where they measured his sense reactions by means of elaborate machinery. They tested his vision for clearness, depth, and width of field, his sense of color, his quickness of movement or reaction time, his tendency to move about on the seat and to turn his head, or to sit motionless. These and other traits they related to his accident rate, and attempted to draw certain conclusions as to his fitness to drive in traffic. Some of the most notable of these studies were made at Ohio State University and they have been of considerable value. Nevertheless, such researches are hampered by a fatal weakness, namely, that the experimental conditions set up in the psychological laboratory are not the same as those under which driving in traffic is actually carried on. For one thing, in the laboratory the individual being examined is required to keep his eyes on a dial attached to the instrument board close to him. But in the real traffic situation of the street he has to watch large objects moving at a distance, and in several directions at the same time; and he certainly does not watch his instrument board if he knows anything about driving. These limitations of their method have been partially recognized by the psychologists themselves, apparently more clearly than many laymen who have pinned entirely too much faith in the value of such studies for a solution of this serious traffic problem. We are still faced, after all our measuring of the nervous systems of drivers, colored lights, and signboards, with the same old problem in ever-growing dimensions.

The *sociologists* were aware from the start of this weakness in the method of the psychologist, and for their own part attempted to make their studies in the actual stream of traffic which flows endlessly along our streets and highways. The social psychologists likewise betook themselves to the crossroads, where some very significant observations have been made, particularly by Professor Floyd H. Allport, with respect to behavior in the face of the signal bell on the part of drivers of different personality types. Yet all sociological researches are plagued by their own inherent weakness of method, just as were those of the laboratory psychologist. The weakness, however, points in opposite directions in the two cases. The psychologist in the laboratory makes very accurate measurements but does not succeed in measuring the actual behavior with which we are concerned. On the other hand, the sociologist out on the road is a participant observer in the actual driving situation, but for that very reason cannot follow up his human specimens and analyze them with sufficient accuracy. In a word, the two sciences together have succeeded only in studying the unreal situation very accurately, and the real situation quite inaccurately. Meanwhile the slaughter goes on, the perpetrators of that very large proportion of it which is not accidental in the true sense go undetected beforehand and usually unpunished in any effective way afterward. Such is the situation as we now face it after more than a third of a century of effort and exhortation.

The one thing that has been discovered by all observers is that a relatively few drivers are causing most of the mischief. At the same time, the most striking fact about the traffic situation is the skill and consideration with which the millions of cars one sees in a transcontinental tour are handled by the vast majority. The small band of mischief-makers include, aside from children, who



should not be expected or allowed to drive, those who are intoxicated with alcoholic beverages in greater or lesser degree, and the genuine Road-Mutt. Leaving the drunken driver aside for this occasion, let us notice the last named group. I have called them Road-Mutts because they seem to fill on the road the same role carried by Mutt in the well-known comic strip of the daily press. Mutt in the cartoon is not the enemy of Jeff by any means, but he has a way of imposing on his companion and occasionally shoving him around, which suggests a crude and unsocialized personality. "We injure one another more with our elbows than with our fists"; and Mutt, whether figuring in the comic strip or the anything but comic traffic accident, is no exception to the rule. The main trouble is that he is unfit to manage a motor vehicle and should not be permitted to do so. Thinking especially of these Mutts, it was said in opening that our human nature is of a sort that does not fully meet the requirements of the modern civilized, technological world, particularly that situation created by our powerful and potentially dangerous motor-driven vehicles. But this does not imply that human nature is unchangeable. Nobody believes that less than the sociologist. His studies of actual social life have taught him that human behavior is largely the expression of attitudes, or tendencies to act. These are themselves largely the product of experience and training in such groups as the family, play group, neighborhood, school, church, and civic community. In them human nature is largely made, and in and through their agency it can be remade. For this very reason, namely, that they are not doomed by fate to remain that way, we should now mightily resolve to weed the Road-Mutts out of the motoring life of our cities and country highways. The delinquent driver of this type is deficient in his attitudes, his disposition, his appreciation of the

fact that good and safe driving is a matter of being sufficiently aware of the presence, the pleasure, and the welfare of others. He does not recognize that every man is in a sense his brother's keeper; that traffic behavior especially, if it is to become what it should be, is a matter of mutual aid.

It will be recognized that all these are *social traits*. They grow out of the process of living together, and they alone make a better way of living together possible of attainment. Those who are not socialized in this sense are really not yet grown up, although they may be matured six footers with bushy whiskers, or even silvery heads. Despite these and all other surface signs of full manhood, they are really *social infants*, as earlier defined by the present writer;<sup>1</sup> and driving in modern traffic is no fit task for infants, whether chronological or social. If we do not weed them out of our traffic, we shall demonstrate that there is a strain of social imbecility, if not infantility, in all of us, and consequently in the community itself. The question now is how to do it.

The psychological and sociological investigations mentioned above were made partly in the hope of devising some set of tests by which it would prove possible to examine applicants for the driver's license and prevent the unfit from being turned loose on the highway. But that has been rendered impracticable by our failure to perfect a sound set of tests, by the expense involved, and by the vast amount of time that would be required to administer it. The result is that we may dismiss for the present the idea of shutting out the Road-Mutts beforehand, and consider how we may go about it to weed them out when their unfitness is revealed to the annoyance, injury, and sorrow of many innocent persons, in the daily and hourly toll of traffic accidents.

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of Sociology and Social Research*, Vol. XII, No. 3, January-February, 1928; also *Social Process and Human Progress*, New York, 1930, chapters VII, VIII, and IX.

Two suggestions of method have come to notice very recently. One, from the late Harry Carr, in his well-known "Lancer" column of the *Los Angeles Times*, proposed that citizens, particularly motorists, should note the number plates of those committing offenses in actual traffic situations, and deposit them at convenient stations. There they would be collected, and compiled at a central bureau. Thus the evil-doer's record, as its column of offenses piled higher and higher, would itself provide the witness to bring about the suspension of his license and his elimination from the road, temporarily or permanently as the case might require.

About the same time several of us, bystanders at the scene of a spectacular automobile collision, engaged in conversation over the general situation. It then came out that several had been considering the feasibility of setting the unemployed to work at some useful thing such as checking up the mechanical condition of all cars found parked on the highways. In reply to this it was suggested that the same persons might turn their attention to checking up the mental condition of the drivers of unsocial type by recording their misdoings and sending in the plate number, sex, and apparent age of the offender, to a central office as proposed by the columnist quoted. This would supplement the desultory work of volunteer motorists with the systematic work of a large force of persons empowered and duly authorized to do that work, and supplementing that of the traffic police by a large force in plain clothes.

Here is an apparently feasible way to single out, in the traffic itself, that sprinkling of Road-Mutts who are spoiling the motoring game for all the Jeffs. Select him carefully, surround him with such restrictions as will ensure fairness to all, require him to make affidavit where called for, and let Jeff do the job.

We have had a lot of talk about giving the unemployed something more permanently useful to do than "manicuring the hills." It would be hard to imagine anything more serviceable to the whole community than a thorough job of combing out the traffic situation. Since we have found no way to shut out the unsocialized drivers beforehand, they must be weeded out afterward; and the time has now come to do it. If this, or some better plan, is not put into operation at once, it will be a reflection on the intelligence of the whole community. In such an event the long-suffering Jeffs will themselves all be Mutts in a wider sense of that term.

The present argument holds that average human nature has mental and social limitations which the enormous elaboration of swift machinery in general is placing under drafts that tax it beyond its ability to manage. Although human nature is very plastic, and perhaps even now changing before our eyes, that does not prevent a very serious lag for the time being. The common man, to say nothing of the children, has never wielded such powerful and dangerous playthings before, yet he persists in handling them after the patterns of the horse-and-buggy days, including the habit of driving each for himself, and without adequate awareness of others and of the supremely *social* nature of the act, which is really social in a way and degree never experienced before in the daily activities of ordinary life. The degree of self-control, self-subordination, and discipline required in driving correctly had been reserved hitherto for the conduct of armies and navies, lion hunting, arctic exploration, and other hazardous enterprises involving either a great many people together or a few in especially hazardous undertakings. The outcome of all this wholesale turning loose of socially immature drivers in modern traffic is that the vast majority of so-called "accidents" are not really acci-

dents at all, but simply *consequences*. An *accident* is any event that happens unexpectedly and which is not taking place according to the usual course of things. A *consequence*, on the contrary, is a natural and necessary result which ensues from any set of causal conditions. Presumably everything happens from some cause, regarded in the scientific sense, but in the popular and practical sense, as here used, the distinction is valid. I suppose the distinguishing criterion is that a consequence might be easily forecasted by anyone with normal foresight, whereas a true accident cannot be foreseen, and hence may not be avoided. The application to traffic problems is that the vast majority, as already remarked, of our mounting traffic disasters are not really accidents, but are consequences that could easily be forecasted and avoided. In view of the combination of drivers with unsocialized dispositions, aspiring to manage more and more powerful cars, upon faster and faster roads, the present appalling destruction of property, limb, and life is exactly what should be expected. We need a new word for such things, for they are not accidents, although "consequences" may strike one as too academic.

The present motoring system turns loose upon the highways many a driver whose only salvation lies in the chance that he may not run afoul of another of his own kind. Such persons are *minus* or *delinquent* drivers, who constantly fall short of the social requirements and come back from every trip with a lot of unpaid social obligations. Over against them stand the *plus* or *master* drivers, who do better than the average and help rather than hinder those whom they meet upon the road, whether other automobilists, pedestrians, or officers of the law. They often return with a balance to their credit, having done even more than the letter of the law requires. Between these two classes is the mass of average drivers who play



the game as required, but take no special pride in meeting the higher social and ethical challenge of the traffic situation. Such a sportsmanlike spirit can, however, be aroused by safety campaigns and other educative efforts, so that the two following avenues are open for improving the situation. One is to eliminate the delinquent drivers from the road, and the other is to convert drivers who merely drive as required by the routine into master drivers, animated with the ambition to do this difficult and dangerous thing of motoring with a really artistic finish.

If this seems fantastic and impossible, it is so merely because the mental and social level of drivers is low, and this low level, especially the social, may be merely the result of inadequate social control. In other words, there remain too many horse-and-buggy drivers behind automobile steering wheels. This applies more directly to older drivers, who are still under the habits of the pre-automobile folkways. It applies to younger drivers only indirectly, since they never experienced the horse-driving complex, and share its folkways only by virtue of the fact that young drivers usually drive, with some startling variations, according to the patterns set by their elders. The same thing may be stated in terms of motoristways, by saying that these are now in process of formation. People have no sufficiently clear conception of the situation this swift machine has clapped down upon us, and no clear and definite picture of the kind of groupways required to meet it well. The net result is that many drivers, particularly the younger ones, possess no clear pattern, either as folkways or motoristways, and that leaves too much opportunity for each to try being a law unto himself. This impulse is further aggravated in the case either of those who are too young in years to possess the necessary discretion, or of those who, by defect of

nature or training, lack the matured social disposition of co-operation and mutual aid, and consequently remain social infants, of low social age, regardless of their weight of years. Wise King Solomon surely had no prevision of modern traffic when he said, "The hoary head is a crown of glory, if it be found in the way of righteousness," (Prov. 16:31), but he uttered the truth about drivers who have lived long and learned little.

Just here, in the unsocialized driver old or young, lies the central difficulty of modern traffic, and toward this conviction there has been a steady convergence of all who have approached the problem from its various sides, which are many and important. But as it now stands in the light of the resulting consensus of opinion, it is a *social* problem, both in its essential nature and in the methods that must be applied for its solution. It is unnecessary to quote the numberless speakers and writers who have spotted the driver as the central and most stubborn root of the difficulty. The *vehicle* itself can not, of course, resist when streamliners propose to convert it from the thing of beauty which it now is into something resembling a colossal football on wheels. The *highway* can utter no protest when it is engineered from a winding, contoured, common way, an integral, friendly part of the landscape,—like Whitman's "long brown path before me leading wherever I choose"—into a wide, straight groove for madly rushing speedsters, detached, like this highway itself, from the roadside life and oblivious to its charms. But when it is proposed to change the *driver*, to socialize and regiment him in the ways that must be practiced, his intractableness under the pressure of social engineers is matched only by the docility of the other two factors in the hands of the mechanical and civil engineers.

At this very point, nevertheless, the problem comes to be more clearly defined, and that is a real gain. It reached

that stage in this country when articles began to multiply in popular magazines under such titles as "Dangerous Fools," "The Killers—A Challenge to American Business," "Telling It to the Judge," "Tremendous Trifles," and "Worse Than War." This group of titles is a mere random sample indicative of a vast literature on this problem. Its sociological meaning is that a considerable number of competent observers has become aware of the essential nature of these evil conditions, and there is a growing consciousness of the necessity of seeking a remedy by collective action of some sort. In other words, traffic has reached that stage in the public, or social, mind which elevates it to the position of a real social problem. To become aware of it as socially bad is the first stage; to analyze it for its factors is the second; and the third is to find that solution, which, by virtue of the very fact that it is a *social* problem, cannot be found by individual action alone.<sup>2</sup>

The movement set in motion by the leaders referred to presents one of the finest examples one could ask of the enormous difficulties which beset any effort at intelligent, concerted, socially directed progress toward a projected goal on the part of a vast, unwieldy national population, dispersed over such an empire as the United States of America. To tell the story in any complete way would fill a chapter, and even a book. In its official aspect it centers in the National Conference on Street and Highway Safety, organized in 1924 by Herbert Hoover as Secretary of Commerce. Building upon the safety code developed by the National War Council during the World War, in connection with the trucking of military supplies and forces, the National Conference sought "to reduce

<sup>2</sup> As defined by the present writer elsewhere, a social problem means any social situation which attracts the attention of a considerable number of competent observers within a society and appeals to them as calling for readjustment or remedy by social, i.e., collective, action of some kind or other.—*Outlines of Introductory Sociology*, New York, 1924, p. 627.

the heavy toll of accidents in our streets and highways."<sup>3</sup> This initial meeting in 1924 has been followed by two other general conferences, held in 1926 and 1930. In the intervals between, a group of very able committees has been constantly at work in a concerted effort, shared by public officials, prominent individuals, and various associations all over the land, especially those representing steam and electric railroads, taxicabs, automobile manufacturers, underwriters, and similar interests. This central organization was assisted by some of the great national motor clubs, the American Engineering Council, and the National Research Council of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

The National Safety Conference set itself to the task of bringing uniformity and order out of the chaotic and disorderly conditions with which it was confronted in its efforts at the conservation of property and life. We in these days are prone to think of the problem as one of motor vehicles exclusively, but it is much older and wider than that. An authority in traffic studies has remarked the fact that "ancient cities as well as modern suffered from street congestion. Caesar found it necessary [in ancient Rome] to issue an order prohibiting the passage of wagons through the central district for 10 hours after sunrise."<sup>4</sup> The same problem aroused William Phelps Eno in his pioneer studies of street congestion in New York City. That was in 1899 before the automobile was a factor, Eno's original impetus having come from vexatious delays to carriages at the breaking up of opera crowds in that city. So one readily sees that here is a problem that springs up perennially wherever great numbers of vehicles attempt to use the same streets, and it is not tied up

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Ways and Means of Traffic Safety: A Summary of All Recommendations of the National Conference on Street and Highway Safety*, Washington, D.C., May, 1930, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Street Traffic Control*, by Miller McClintock, New York, 1925, p. 2.

to any particular kind of vehicle or type of street. In the opening sentences of his classical work on *Social Control*, published nearly forty years ago, Professor Ross used these significant words:

A condition of order at the junction of crowded city thoroughfares implies primarily an absence of collisions between men or vehicles that interfere one with another. Order cannot be said to prevail among people going in the same direction at the same pace, because there is no interference. It does not exist when persons are constantly colliding one with another. But when all who meet or overtake one another in crowded ways take the time and pains needed to avoid collision, the throng is orderly. Now at the bottom of the notion of social order lies the same idea.<sup>5</sup>

As the book quoted goes on to show in a masterly way, the achievement of order, as defined, in the various fields of associated activity, is the task of *social control*, and this is made possible by the fact that "from the interactions of individuals and generations there emerges a kind of collective mind evincing itself in living ideals, conventions, dogmas, institutions, and religious sentiments which are more or less happily adapted to the task of safeguarding the collective welfare from the ravages of egoism."<sup>6</sup>

This states exactly the colossal task to which, under the leadership of Herbert Hoover, the National Conference on Street and Highway Safety set itself in 1924. The "ravages of egoism" had piled up such a shocking toll of serious and fatal accidents that something had to be done to protect the collective welfare along that line. Again, just as Ross phrased it some decades before, there was the interaction not only of individuals, but of generations, at work in the matter. This process had registered itself in the *folkways*, already quite familiar in all sociological discussion, and out of the interaction of living individuals

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Social Control: A Survey of the Foundations of Order*, by Edward Alesworth Ross, New York, 1901, p. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 293.



with their contemporaries and with their forerunners must be evoked that new "sort of collective mind" which would be better prepared to deal with this new form of an old problem, created by the extraordinary spread of the automobile. During the fourteen years of its existence the National Conference has been striving in a systematic way to assist the public mind in forming the living ideals, conventions, and institutions demanded by the situation; and that is the process of creating *motoristways* which has been emphasized throughout the pages of this article.

In stressing the role of the National Conference it is by no means implied that the organization so called represented the whole of this social movement. On the contrary, it has been the organizing center for a national effort immensely more comprehensive than even that remarkable organization. Chief among its coadjutors must be mentioned the great organizations of motorists, notably the American Automobile Association, with its scores of constituent local clubs, and the Automobile Club of Southern California, independent in its organization, but working in close co-operation with the California State Automobile Association, the more northerly organization, which is affiliated with the American Automobile Association. Among newer co-workers in this great movement for social control may be mentioned the Eno Foundation for Highway Traffic Regulation, Inc., Washington, D.C., and the Alfred Russel Erskine Bureau for Street Traffic Research, of Harvard University. All these merge into numberless agencies and individuals that need not, and can not, be named, but all working at the one great task of creating the collective mind of the new motoristways, whose function is that of "safeguarding the collective welfare from the ravages of egoism" or, in our present terminology, from the dangerous antics of the social infant on the road.

## EDUARD BENES AS A SOCIOLOGIST

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

New York University

While the late Dr. Thomas Garigue Masaryk (1850-1937) is considered the founder of modern sociology in Czechoslovakia,<sup>1</sup> Dr. Eduard Benes has the distinction of being considered the most famous follower and exponent of Masaryk, not only in the field of sociology but also in the practical field of politics.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Eduard Benes, once Premier, for sixteen years Foreign Minister, and since December, 1935, President

<sup>1</sup> Strange to say, there exists no large systematic study of Masaryk as a sociologist. Although Masaryk analyzed quite a number of the problems of abstract sociology, his sociological contributions are limited to numerous articles and several monographical studies. The most complete bibliography of Masaryk's contributions may be found in K. Capek, *Mlčení s T. G. Masarykem (The Silences with T. G. Masaryk)*, Prague, 1935, pp. 27-31. Scattered information dealing with Masaryk's sociological theories can be found in J. S. Roucek, "President Masaryk of Czechoslovakia," *Current History*, March, 1930, 31:1109-12, and "Thomas Garigue Masaryk," *World Unity*, September, 1930, 6:413-23, and "Thomas Garigue Masaryk as Politician and Statesman," *Social Science*, July, 1931, 6:272-78; C. J. C. Street, *President Masaryk*, London, 1930; E. Ludwig, *Defender of Democracy, Masaryk of Czechoslovakia*, New York, 1936; K. Capek, *President Masaryk Tells His Story*, New York, 1935. Two of Masaryk's works have been translated: *The Spirit of Russia*, New York, 1919, 2 vols.; and *The Making of a State*, New York, 1927.

<sup>2</sup> The literature on Benes is mainly in Czech, German, French, and Yugoslav. P. Crabitès' *Benes, Statesman of Central Europe*, New York, 1935, is limited to his leadership in international affairs. Benes' *My War Memoirs*, trans., Boston, 1928, Chapter XX, "Final Reflections," pp. 488-500, contains an excellent introduction to his ideas. The following articles in Czech are good sociological studies of Benes: "Dopis Ministra Edvarda Benese" ("The Letter of Minister Eduard Benes"), *Sociologická Revue*, 1:3-6, 1930; E. Benes "Principy a předpoklady naší zahraniční politiky" ("Principles of our Foreign Policy"), *ibid.*, 2:7-19, 1931; I. A. Bláha, "Sociologické a filosofické základy Benesovy politické teorie" ("Sociological and Philosophical Foundations of Benes' Political Theories"), *ibid.*, 5:7-10, 1934; E. Benes, "Sociolog-Teoretik a Politik-Praktik" ("The Sociologist-Theoretician and the Politician-Practician"), *ibid.*, 7:7-20, 1936. The following articles in English study Benes as a social scientist: I. A. Bláha, "Contemporary Sociology in Czechoslovakia," *Social Forces*, 9:167-79, 1930; J. S. Roucek, "Eduard Benes," *World Unity*, 14:136-46, 1934; and "Eduard Benes," *Social Science*, 10:200-1, 1935; and "Fiftieth Birthday of Dr. Eduard Benes," *World Affairs Interpreter*, 5:154-58, 1934. In addition to Benes' two articles in Czech, cited above, a number of his articles and booklets have been published by the Orbis Publishing Company, Prague. For the most complete bibliography of Benes' works, see: Boris Jakovenko, *La bibliographie d'Edouard Benes*, Prague, 1936 ("Bibliothèque Internationale de Philosophie," Publication périodique, Vol. II, No. 7, Juillet-Aout).

of the Czechoslovak Republic, began his career by registering at the Charles University of Prague in 1904. His interest centered in the so-called "practical philosophy," propounded by Masaryk, who was Benes' inspiration. In 1905 Benes registered at the Sorbonne at Masaryk's suggestion. In 1908 he published his doctoral thesis, *The Austrian Problem and the Czech Question (Le Problème autrichien et la question tchèque)* (Paris, 1908), a study which already showed Benes' sociological inclinations and which favored the decentralization and federalization of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In 1908 Benes received his doctorate from the University of Dijon and became Professor of Political Economy in the Czechoslovak Commercial Academy in Prague. In a little volume, *The Nationalistic Question* (1909), he described his philosophical understanding of the problem. He said it was "simply a question of progress, the question of democracy, the question of freedom." In 1910-1911 he published three volumes on modern socialism.<sup>3</sup> In 1912 Benes published his first important sociological study, *The Party System*,<sup>4</sup> his "habilitation thesis," which won him the appointment as "Private Docent" in Sociology in Charles University in 1913 and a year later in the Czech Technical High School. The work, however, cannot be considered of great sociological importance. It has all the weaknesses of a doctoral thesis and it depends too extensively on foreign literature in this field. Therein the author surveys the theories of the origin and classification of political parties, criticizes them, and then proceeds to describe sociologically the aims and functions of political parties, their organization, and their relation to other social phenomena.

<sup>3</sup> *Stručný nástin vývoje moderního socialismu (A Short Outline of the Evolution of Modern Socialism)*, Vol. I, *Podmínky vzniku a vývoje moderního socialismu (The Conditions of the Origin and Evolution of Modern Socialism)*, Brandys and Labem, 1911.

<sup>4</sup> *Strannictví, Sociologická Studie (The Party System. A Sociological Study)*, Prague, 1912.

After the opening of the World War Benes published another sociological study, *War and Culture*.<sup>5</sup> During the same year he joined Masaryk abroad and worked for Czechoslovakia's freedom.<sup>6</sup> Since that time, Benes has had little time to devote himself to theoretical studies, although he has published several well-known contributions all of which have a sociological approach and which deal mostly with actual and practical problems of the day.<sup>7</sup> That he was connected with sociology technically, until his election to the presidency, is certified by the fact that he was Professor of Sociology in the Charles University from 1921 to 1935.

In summary, Benes' best contributions relate to political sociology. Politics is a social activity purposing to adjust the social environment so that people may best satisfy their needs and aims. The adjustment may be changed by shifts in the relationships between individuals in their groups. When the value of human personality is high, the adjustment favors the widest masses, and vice versa. The aristocratic system has always organized the environment for the benefit of the few. Democracy aims at such adjustments to increase general welfare and satisfy general needs.

Politics, according to Benes, is a lofty occupation, from the moral as well as the material standpoint. It is an art

<sup>5</sup> *Válka a kultura*, Prague, 1915.

<sup>6</sup> His war publications were of the purely propagandist nature. They are: *Le socialisme autrichien et la guerre*, Paris, 1915; *Détruisez l'Autriche-Hongrie*, Paris, 1916; in Italian and English in 1917; *T. G. Masaryk*, Paris, 1916.

<sup>7</sup> The most important works of Benes since 1918 are (in addition to those already cited): *Smysl československé revoluce* (*The Sense of the Czechoslovak Revolution*), Prague, 1923; *Zahranicní Politika a demokracie* (*Foreign Policy and Democracy*), Prague, 1923; *Problémy nové Evropy a zahraniční politika československá* (*The Problems of New Europe and Foreign Policy of Czechoslovakia*), Prague, 1924; *Nesnáze demokracie* (*The Difficulties of Democracy*), Prague, 1924; *Problém malých národů po světové válce* (*The Problem of Small Nations After the World War*), Prague, 1926; *Světová revoluce a naše revoluce* (published as *My War Memoirs*, Boston, 1928); *Stefánik a jeho odkaz* (*Stefánik and his Heritage*), Prague, 1929; etc. The best recent exposition of Benes' sociological theories is his article, "The Sociologist-Theoretician and the Politician-Practician," *op. cit.*

and a science. As a science it studies, with the help of law, history, geography, economics, et cetera, the real state of man and society; it seeks that which is regular, planned, and permanent in society. It is obvious that the socially important sciences for the politician are psychology and biology. Therefore the scientist-politician must vivisection society; must study society as a map. Studies important to him are: (1) natural, material, and physical realities (earth, climate, the nation, its characteristics, et cetera); (2) motives, ambitions, plans, and needs of the individual and of his collectivities, with their emotions, passions, and instincts; (3) social incidents, uncontrollable social forces and movements.

A practical politician must be a good sociologist, must know well the natural and social environment of a certain society. The politician as a good sociologist must know how to analyze conditions to observe these systematically and scientifically and reach, eventually, the correct understanding of them.

Such a politician must be a good psychologist. He must know people, must analyze behavior and public and party opinions correctly. He must be tactful also, which is another expression for knowledge of practical psychology.

But it is not sufficient to be a good sociologist and a psychologist. He must have the synthetic spirit of an artist, good sense, keen intuition, and keen emotions. Those in politics who can control their emotions by reason and their reason by emotions and can establish an equilibrium are great politicians.

From this discussion it is obvious that Benes takes into account both social and political processes, the individual and society. He does not emphasize, one-sidedly, the social factor, as Durkheim, but utilizes psychology. He understands the social factor in its widest sense, not al-



lowing himself to be deceived by socialistic, juristic, or any other school. When analyzing the individual, he does not forget that rationalism is determined by irrational factors, such as instinctive impulses, emotions, intuition; thus he agrees with such thinkers as Thorndike, McDougall, and Pareto.

As a critical realist, Benes does not overemphasize either intellectualism or emotionalism, but harmonizes both. If the politician is too much of a scientist and rationalizes too much, he does not know how to create intuitively for the future, or to have great conceptions. He becomes a dry, limited politician. On the contrary, if the politician lets himself be carried away by his intuition and emotions, he follows fantasies, impossible combinations, passions, and hatreds. Politics must analyze the social reality scientifically. Such politics are important in a democracy. We are being educated for democracy. This demands leaders. Democratic institutions are not enough. The people must be convinced of the ideals of democracy. It is difficult to govern with corrupted and poor institutions, impossible with poor people. Hence the problem of democracy is primarily the problem of education for democracy, the moral problem.

Benes believes that the Renaissance and the Reformation were the foundation of modern political individualism and humanism; that the liberal philosophy of the Frenchman, Descartes, and the French Encyclopaedists prepared the way for the English and American revolutionists. This philosophy broke up medieval feudal aristocratic conceptions and formed the foundations of modern constitutionalism, and the philosophy of humanity, the philosophy of political and social equality, in short, modern political democracy. The World War was a struggle between two camps with diametrically opposed philosophical-political conceptions. The old medieval

Austrian bureaucratic structure, the German spirit of imperialism and militarism, and the Turkish Oriental philosophy of violence had to yield to the Allies, representing modern political democracy. According to Benes, an element, viz., Russia, representing the conception possessed by the Central Powers, had to be defeated.

Modern nationalism was born of the Renaissance, Reformation, and French Revolution,—a philosophy proclaiming individual and civic rights and demanding democracy for the nation. In a word "humanitarianism is basic to modern democracy, e.g., to a nation's claim to a political, economic, and cultural liberty."<sup>8</sup> Benes states that in some European countries the chauvinistic element acquired the upper hand because those countries had not experienced a spiritual revolution during the war or during the subsequent period of adjustment.

In conclusion, Benes' own words express his sociological approach to politics most clearly:<sup>9</sup>

Without giving up his high ideals, the modern statesman must propound a practical policy. He must observe all elements of the public life of the state and nation, evaluate all factors of political, economic, social and moral life, must strictly evaluate the strength of the different material and moral component parts, recognize and know the value of political parties and individuals. . . . From all this he forms his political synthesis and makes daily decisions, destined for the immediate and distant future. . . . He never gives up his program and ideal, makes no compromise in principle, but understands, on the contrary, a compromise in tactics. . . . He makes no policy of prestige, no policy of personal ambitions and egoism. . . . Never goes back, stays only momentarily when forced by circumstances, to consolidate gains and catch force for the further. This is the concept of idealistic realism.

Our evaluation of Benes parallels that of Masaryk. Both base their sociology on philosophy and each is a fortunate sociologist able to impress his principles on his

<sup>8</sup> Benes, *My War Memoirs*, p. 494.

<sup>9</sup> Cited in J. S. Roucek, "Eduard Benes," *World Unity*, 14:142, June, 1934.

cultural environment—his native country. Benes wrote less on theoretical sociological topics. But his literary productivity in the postwar period, especially, is by no means negligible. In fact, his encouragement to sociological efforts in Czechoslovakia has given impetus to the interest in sociology in that country. Benes has the distinction of being a founder of the first outstanding Czechoslovak sociological quarterly, *Sociologická Revue*. The first issue of this periodical contained an introductory letter by Benes outlining the legitimate fields of interest in sociology, and its relation to democracy.<sup>10</sup> Since then he has contributed several articles to this publication.<sup>11</sup>

All in all, Benes is not the founder of a great sociological system, but he synthesized the works of others, adopted much of Masaryk's "critical realism," and built upon these foundations his own sociological and philosophical system, especially in the field of political sociology.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Sociologická Revue*, 1: 3-5.

<sup>11</sup> "Principy a předpoklady naší zahraniční politiky" (Principles and Assumptions of our Foreign Policy), *ibid.*, 1931, 2: 7-19; "The Sociologist-Theoretician and the Politician-Practician," *op. cit.*

<sup>12</sup> The latest study of Benes' sociological and philosophical ideas can be found in: Ant. Hartl, Ed., *Edvard Benes Filosof a Státník* (Benes, *Philosopher and Statesman*), Prague: L. Mazác, 1937, and particularly in the studies of: I. A. Bláha, "Sociologické základy politiky" (Sociological Foundations of Politics), pp. 41-82, and Emil Sobota, "Program druhého presidenta pro domácí politiku" ("The Program of the Second President for Internal Politics"), pp. 82-128.

## EARLY SOCIOLOGISTS\*

WILLIAM KIRK

*Pomona College*

To one who has used his leisure time during the past six months in a study of primitive patterns of culture, and wrestling with Malinowski, Benedict, Mead, Pitt-Rivers, Lowie, and Kroeber, the request of your program chairman to prepare a paper on the early sociologists came as a distinct surprise. My interest in sociology began as a graduate student of economics when I ran across a little volume entitled *Physics and Politics* by Walter Bagehot (1826-1877), which seemed to throw new light upon the meaning and purpose of human society. His "Thoughts on the Application of the Principles of Natural Selection and Inheritance to Political Society" appeared first as a series of articles in the *Fortnightly Review*, beginning in 1867. Based upon the Darwinian hypothesis, the book points out that the first great step in social change was the formation of a "cake of custom" in some one clan or tribe,—in other words, the stereotyping of acceptable ways of doing things which guaranteed order and predictable behavior patterns on the part of all members of the group. These rules of conduct, upheld by political and religious sanctions, subordinated the mass of the people to the approved leaders.

Through this social solidarity one group was able to impose its will upon other groups less closely knit together and to bring about a natural selection of groups and a natural selection of types of group control.

This scholarly writer, gifted with an unusual felicity of style, goes on to show the superiority of compact groups

\* An abridgment of a paper read at the meeting of the Southern Division of the Pacific Sociological Society, Chapman College, May 7, 1938.

in the social struggle, over loosely organized groups, as seen in the subordination of mother-right tribes to the father-right tribes in the development of civilization. The tendency in the early stages toward an intense legality is the very condition of group existence, for it imposes a settled customary yoke upon all men and all actions and, "if it goes on, kills out the variability implanted by nature and makes different men and different ages facsimiles of other men and other ages as we see them so often."

He continues that progress is only possible in

those happy cases when the force of legality has gone far enough to bind the nation together, but not far enough to kill out all varieties and destroy nature's perpetual tendency to change. The whole history of civilization is strewn with creeds and institutions which were invaluable at first and deadly afterwards.

Men advance only as they break through the "cake of custom" and escape from its tyranny. Thus Bagehot points out that social change takes place through the conflict of opposing forces,—those making for uniformity and solidarity, on the one hand, and for variation and individuality, on the other. In one group one tendency may be stronger than another; in a second group a balancing of these tendencies leads to marked group efficiency. If the two groups happen to meet in a struggle for existence, the one with a well-balanced cultural life will dominate the other. In this pioneering attempt to explain the paradox "that a ruthless struggle for existence yields the peaceful fruits of righteousness," Bagehot went further than either Spencer or Darwin was able to go and, we may add, anticipated with the development of his concept "cake of custom" and "customary law" the folkways and mores of Sumner, the laws of imitation of Tarde, the mutual aid of Kropotkin, *der Rassenkampf* of Gumplowicz, as well as the well-known dichotomy of



von Wiese, "the processes of association and dissociation."

August Comte (1798-1857), who coined the word sociology, divided the science "social physics" into social statics and social dynamics,—the one is the study of action and reaction in the different parts of the social order, the other is the series of social changes which bring about progress,—social structures on the one hand, social processes on the other. Comte was a voluminous writer but his influence upon the subsequent development of sociology as a science is difficult to determine. There are those who contend that Spencer would have developed his system of thought substantially as he did if Comte had never given us his "positive philosophy."

The early sociologists were largely men of one central idea. Each of the pioneers tried to develop some unitary principle which he fondly believed could explain the nature of the social order and lead to an understanding of the laws behind group life. Tarde regarded "imitation" as the master key to the puzzle. Gumpłowicz and Ratzenhofer among others put forth "group conflict" as underlying and conditioning the social process. Durkheim and his disciples advanced the principle that the control of the group over the thoughts and habits of the individual was the central theme for sociologists; and Giddings was responsible for the basic emphasis which many place upon the "consciousness of kind."

Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) is likewise responsible for a particularistic theory which gained considerable popularity among thoughtful writers, including the American sociologist Sumner, i.e., the analogy of human society to an organism. Since society is like an organism, it goes through a natural cycle of birth, growth, maturity, old age, and death. Although Spencer has been severely criticized for holding to the inevitability of this cycle, his worth-while contributions to sociological thought are

not negligible. Social evolution, said he, is a phase of natural evolution. Human society is in many respects like biological organisms in which "rugged individualism" and not state control or economic planning should be highly prized. The most merciful procedure in any society, therefore, is to let the strong survive and the weak perish through natural selection, for in our study of human groupings we find that there are functional relationships between men in association that are analogous to functional relationships between parts of living bodies.

William Graham Sumner (1840-1910) proved as stimulating to my student days as Walter Bagehot had been. *Physics and Politics* and *Folkways* will always have a prominent place on my sociological bookshelf. Sumner's chief scientific interests centered on the origin, the nature, the growth, and the decay of cultural behavior patterns, the folkways, mores, and institutions; and he tells us that

it is difficult to exhaust the customs and small ceremonial usages of a primitive people. Custom regulates the whole of a man's action—his bathing, washing, cutting his hair, eating, drinking and fasting. From his cradle to his grave he is the slave of ancient usage. In his life, there is nothing free, nothing original, nothing spontaneous, no progress towards a higher and better life, and no attempt to improve his condition, mentally, morally or spiritually.

Four human drives spur him to action: hunger, sex passion, vanity, and fear of the spirit world. Life consists largely in satisfying the interests which human desires create. In these allusions we recognize the fact that Sumner has anticipated the classic "four wishes" of Thomas.

In every group of human beings there is constant action and interaction. By trial and error the best ways of doing things are recognized and repeated again and again. As the first task of life is to live, men begin with acts not with thought, and acquire habits which arise from their daily efforts to satisfy ever-recurring needs. By constant repe-

tition these best ways of meeting life's problems become "habits in the individual and custom in the group."

As a rule folkways are made unconsciously. After they have appeared they become a part of the "cake of custom" and regulate the lives of succeeding generations. These new social forces may be modified only within a narrow range and to a limited extent by the purposeful efforts of men. In due time they begin to grow weaker, decline, and die, or they are completely modified to meet new needs. As long as they flourish, they condition group life and mold the thoughts of men. When ways of doing things come to be regarded as necessary to the welfare or solidarity of the group, folkways are raised to a higher level and become mores. Life patterns, personal rights, private and public morality, are all products of the folkways and mores. "They pervade and control the ways of thinking in all the exigencies of life, returning from the world of abstractions to the world of action to give guidance and control."

Lester Frank Ward (1841-1913) grew up in the life of a frontier democracy, and these early influences conditioned his whole social philosophy. Very fond of books he early developed an ardent interest in the physical sciences and later became well acquainted with the works of Comte, Darwin, and Spencer. In 1883 appeared *Dynamic Sociology* in two volumes, and ten years later the *Psychic Factors in Civilization*. In 1905 I had the privilege of attending the annual meeting of the American Economic Association in Baltimore. Walking along one of the corridors of old McCoy Hall at the Johns Hopkins University where the sessions were being held, I found myself speaking to a tall, strongly built, slightly stooped man who carried his head at an angle and wore the side whiskers so popular in an earlier period. He gave me the number of a room which he was trying to find. As we

entered this room together, several members present arose and greeted my companion as Lester Ward, and in a very few moments the small group that had assembled chose him as their chairman and forthwith organized the American Sociological Society. The following year in 1906 Ward came to Brown University, and for the next four happy years I had the extremely fortunate experience of frequent association with a rare personality and a profound thinker.

To go back to 1895 when the *American Journal of Sociology* first appeared, Ward had become a regular contributor and had strongly influenced the course of sociological thought during those intervening years.

In one of the earliest articles in the *Journal*, entitled "Sociology and Biology," Ward shows us what he has in mind when he uses the concept "society,"—an organism but a low form of organism subject to the general laws of evolution. The task of the sociologist, then, is to discover the principles that govern the evolution of society. In a later article ("Social Genesis") he writes:

The primary characteristic of genetic social progress is that it results from the actions of men that directly flow from their efforts to satisfy their desires. . . . The effect of these activities in the long run is to produce superior races. . . . The sociological effect is to adapt the environment. This is social progress, it may and does result in the extinction of deficient and the preservation of efficient races and institutions.

Now, the kind of social progress which is needed is teleological progress. The slow and imperceptible genetic progress which society has thus far made is barely sufficient to keep apace with the increase of population. Its entire increment toward improving the condition of society is neutralized by the rapid multiplication of individuals which in itself enables the race to carry on. There is very little perceptible amelioration of the condition of society at large.

In the article, "The Mechanics of Society," we read

The transition from genetic to telic progress is wholly due and exactly

proportional to the development of the intellectual faculty. The distinctively social process which results from the application of the indirect, intellectual or telic method,—is telesis,

or the process of purposive achievement through artificial selection.

In this way Ward found himself opposed to Spencer's "rugged individualism" and all that his evolutionary determinism represents. As a matter of fact social telesis shook the framework of Spencerian philosophy and jolted many laissez-faire and organicist disciples into a new way of thinking.

Ward was a zealous and persistent advocate of social telesis. Contrary to the teachings of Spencer and his followers, man can change, modify, hasten, or retard the processes of nature. Man through intellectual achievement can transform not only the physical world, but also the social world; he can not only direct natural forces toward social goals, he can use social forces for human progress. In his *Pure Sociology* he repeats: "My thesis is that the objects of sociology are human achievements. It is not a question of what men are, but what they do, not of the structure but of the function. Sociology deals with social activities."

Unfortunately his encyclopedic and democratic mind believed so firmly in the capacity of the common man to acquire and use the education which could lift him to higher ground and win his own salvation, that Ward overlooked the two conditioning factors which were largely responsible for the new currents of thought that soon carried younger sociologists away from the master's evolutionary, monistic philosophy. These new factors were, first, a scientific appreciation of the differences in native intellectual ability and, second, the continuing influence of the social heritage or culture upon human patterns and social interaction.



In the last analysis, however, Ward did prepare the way for the transition in American sociology from biological to psychosociological concepts. He faced the frontier with an abiding faith in the inherent capacity of his fellow men to make this a better world in which to live through the application of their scientifically guided intelligence to the problems of everyday life.

Both Sumner and Ward lived through an age of corruption and wastefulness in American state and national government. Although both men agreed that existing governments were incapable of constructive policies, they differed in their confidence in future governments. Sumner harkening back to Spencer argued that governmental activity would always remain less intelligently directed than individual initiative and enterprise. Ward broke away from this *laissez-faire* formula and insisted that the spread of sociological knowledge through universal education would make possible intelligent group action. Spencer and Sumner believed that social evolution was an automatic process beyond the control of human planning, but Ward fought valiantly against this fatalism and contended that the human mind properly educated could substitute artificial selection for natural selection and could control, direct, and accelerate social progress.

The struggle did not die with the passing of these great pioneers, and we hear echoes of the conflict from time to time in our legislative halls as well as in our halls of learning. Sociologists today who follow the lead of Hobhouse are inclined to accept the implications of the Wardian philosophy in their approach to the study of human society; whereas some contemporary historians, political scientists, and even economists find themselves still defending the Sumnerian thesis.

In my own gallery of sociological concepts, I keep the Toennies dichotomy in a prominent place, i.e.—the dis-

inction between "community" (*Gemeinschaft*) and "society" (*Gesellschaft*). By community the German scholar means a type of life which is best seen in a simple agricultural household or a simple rural village. Society in this twofold classification refers to the life in commercial and manufacturing towns. *Gemeinschaft* is the same as Durkheim's "group with mechanical solidarity." *Gesellschaft* is a group intra-acting in obedience to the will of the dominant class. In one of the opening passages of his book, Toennies writes,

All confidential, private, exclusive living together (so we find) is understood as life in community. Society is the public, the world. One finds himself in community with his own (people) from birth onward, bound to them in weal and woe. One goes into society as into a strange land. A youth is warned against bad society; but bad community is a contradiction in terms. Jurists may speak of household society, since they know only the societal concept of a unity; however, the household community, with its endless effects upon the human soul, is experienced by everyone who has participated in it. In the same way, a betrothed couple know that they give themselves over to marriage as a complete community of life (*communio totius vitae*); a society of life contradicts itself. One makes society; no one can make community for someone else. One is received into a religious community; religious societies, like other associations for specific purposes, exist only for the state and for the theory which regards them from the outside. We speak of a community of speech, a community of customs, a community of believers; but of a society for profits, a society for travel, a society for science.

Another approach and technique which has a strong appeal is that which looks upon culture as something akin to the superorganic which feebly emerged when the first human precursor, the first animal carried and accumulated tradition. With the development of civilization there is more and more contact of group with group, culture with culture, and group with geographic, economic, and other sociological influences. Artifacts, folkways, mores, attitudes, beliefs, interests, and values all play an

important part in these sequences of social happenings, in other words, in the social processes themselves. To understand the nature of culture, then, there must be an environmental and psychological analysis of the behavior patterns which create and sustain social institutions.

Before the appearance of *The Polish Peasant*, anthropologists had not gone much further in their researches than to describe the cultures of different peoples. Thomas and Znaniecki studied the personal letters written by members of Polish peasant families, and a very frank autobiography of a Polish immigrant in the United States. From these documents, they were able to reconstruct the cultural patterns of peasant life in Poland and the changes which took place in those patterns as the peasants became urbanized in Poland or sought to accommodate themselves as immigrants to the new culture which they found in America. The fourfold classification of human wishes which appears in these pages has become an integral part of our thinking and one of the dependable guides to an understanding of human motives and human conduct.

Among the outstanding German sociologists Max Weber deserves high rank. Just as *The Polish Peasant* has given us admirable methodological principles, so the three volumes which expound *The Sociology of Religion* also have set forth scientific research techniques in the field of culture development. Max Weber reveals a capacity for thorough and painstaking work, and succeeds in presenting a wealth of "well organized factual material" which is a monument to his industry and to his scholarship.

"What is the relationship between economic and religious phenomena," he asks. Are religious procedures largely conditioned by economic forces, as the philosophy of Marx and the economic interpretation of history

would lead us to believe? Are economic phenomena mostly conditioned by religious influences as Bouglé, Kidd, Durkheim and others have maintained? Or, are these phenomena interdependent? Max Weber's methodology is to treat one of the factors, religion, as a variable, and then to trace the influence of religion upon the other factor, that is in this case, the economic life which he regarded for the purposes of his study as the function of the variable. In this research technique, Weber and his able contemporary, Vilfredo Pareto, had much in common. *The Sociology of Religion* then makes an intensive study of the six world religions, Buddhism, Christianity, Confucianism, Hinduism, Judaism, and Mohammedanism, and finally reaches a significant conclusion. Religion and the economic system are mutually dependent. Neither one is merely a function of the other, and each phenomenon is conditioned by a variety of other factors,—non-religious and noneconomic.

The economic interpretation of history, therefore, is not sufficient in itself, and the opposing theory that economic conditions are the function of religion is likewise not valid. In his treatment of "Protestantism and Modern Capitalism," for example, Max Weber reveals a close interdependence of the spirit or ethics of the Reformation and the spirit of modern capitalism. Protestantism glorified daily work and regarded the regular performance of earnest, honest duties as a religious rite. In fact man could almost gain salvation through orderly, thrifty living.

On the other hand, the spirit and traditionalism of Buddhism, Confucianism, Hinduism, or Judaism were different from the spirit of modern capitalism which stresses the fact that "time is money," that "honesty is the best policy," and that hard work, efficiency, integrity, and enthusiasm are essential to success in any field and especially in the business world.

True to his belief in pluralism and functionalism, Max Weber goes on to say that no system of business ethics has ever been determined by religion alone. The religious factor remains one among many other influences, geographical, biological, and psychological, which condition the spirit of economic life. R. H. Tawney's more recent and challenging *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* is for the most part a restatement of Max Weber's main thesis.

To read some of the early sociologists is to share in a stirring adventure,—an adventure upon the remote frontiers of sociological thought. Bagehot, Sumner, Ward, Toennies, Thomas, and Max Weber, among others, reached new outposts and pushed forward the ever-widening horizons.

The younger generation have boldly accepted the challenge and are carrying out the mandate of the pioneers. They are even now on many fronts penetrating further into the unexplored realms of group life. In fact, Leopold von Wiese asserts that "Sociology as a clearly defined independent social science is only today coming into existence." Be that as it may, sociologists are advancing; a new science is in the making. Perhaps some day soon we shall have a social science which will represent such a degree of cross-fertilization that sociology will flourish anywhere, in all "climates of opinion."



## CURRENT TRENDS IN SOCIOLOGY\*

MELVIN J. VINCENT

*The University of Southern California*

The year 1938 marks the one hundredth birthday of the naming of sociology by August Comte. It may not be untimely, then, to cast some reflections upon what is currently happening in the field of sociology as far as the United States is concerned. Comte had visualized and hoped for the development of a science of man that would benefit and possibly "free" man. While this vision has not yet been fulfilled, there can be little doubt but that the majority of sociologists in the field are still led by the notion that only through a complete and thorough knowledge of man and society can the realization of Comte's vision come true. Clear as this may be, it is equally clear that the approaches made by the sociologists of the day are widely varying and that there is a general lack of unanimity in approving any one particular approach.

There are, however, several definite approaches being made currently as may be seen by examining some of the present-day trends in sociological thought and writing. For the discovery of these trends, the writer has consulted (1) the recent books in the field, (2) the leading articles appearing in the recent numbers of journals devoted to sociology, and (3) some leading selected representatives in the sociology departments of the colleges and universities.<sup>1</sup> These three forms of consultations yielded enough of general agreement for the marked de-

\* Digest of a paper presented at the spring meeting of the Pacific Sociological Society, Southern Division, held at Chapman College, May 7, 1938.

<sup>1</sup> The sociologists who replied to the query, "What are some leading trends in recent sociology?" are: Professors Bain, Bogardus, Burgess, Case, Chapin, Ellwood, Eubank, Hart, Hertzog, Kirk, Jameson, Lichtenberger, McClenahan, Neumeyer, Nimkoff, Odum, Park, Reuter, Sorokin, Steiner, Sullenger, Woolston, and E. F. Young.

lineation of certain definite current trends. It may also be said that there was evident among the personal replies made by the several consultant sociologists some disagreement as to the ultimate worth of some of the trends.

Five trends were noted as being the most important in the recently appearing books, articles, and written statements by the sociologists. The order in which they are named here has nothing to do either with their relative importance to each other or with their final importance to sociology. They are: (1) an ecological trend, (2) a culture concept trend, (3) a social psychologic and psychiatric trend, (4) a quantitative and inductive trend, accompanied by a critical attitude of inquiry as to the values of certain types of research, and (5) a philosophic sociologistic trend involving the disciplinary tactics of the mother of science, philosophy.

*The ecological trend.* "The ecological trend is noteworthy," reports Dr. E. S. Bogardus. "It literally helps sociology to keep its feet upon the ground." This fitting description of the study of the spatial arrangements and distribution of people in the physical environment is suggestive of its importance to sociology. Such books as Park and Burgess' *The City* (1925), Anderson and Lindeman's *Urban Sociology* (1928), the Lynds' *Middletown* (1929), Carpenter's *The Sociology of City Life* (1931), *Middletown in Transition* (1937), and Cook's *Community Backgrounds of Education* (1938) testify to the impact of this trend upon the sociology of today. A majority of the consultant sociologists likewise reported the ecological trend as being important and filled with increasing significance. Dr. Robert E. Park presented his views on this trend as follows:

the attempts to systematize under the title of Human Ecology the investigation of population movements—mobility, migration, and the balance of births and deaths, and to use statistical data thus obtained to describe and explain cultural changes.

The new emphasis which has been placed upon social planning by reason of national economic necessity has seemingly given the studies in human ecology an added utilitarian emphasis. Closely allied to the study of ecology is that of regionalism. Ecology, social planning, and regionalism walk hand in hand and form a rapidly growing trend. Dr. E. B. Reuter notes the trend thus: "the development of human ecology with its spatial frame of reference and the attendant development of an interest in regionalism." Dr. Howard W. Odum is now devoting his principal writing activities to the extension of an interest in regionalism. Dr. F. Stuart Chapin believes that the trend is plainly marked by "the organization of regional sociological societies in the United States," while Dr. Read Bain holds that the "development of regional sociology may be taken as a kind of application to present cultures of the methodology and point of view of cultural anthropology."

*The culture concept trend.* Professor Floyd N. House in *The Development of Sociology* states: "American sociologists have drawn upon the work of the anthropologists extensively for data, but only to a very limited extent for ideas," (p. 270), and that so-called cultural sociology as a specialty "has flourished in a number of universities in the United States since about 1925" (p. 271). Such writers as Wilson D. Wallis and Malcolm Willey, F. Stuart Chapin, William F. Ogburn, and Clarence Marsh Case have been giving much impetus in American sociology to this trend which really represents, according to Dr. Martin H. Neumeyer, "an effort by sociologists to utilize the methods of anthropologists in analyzing contemporary cultures." Of the importance of this trend, Dr. Bogardus states: "The culture trend gives students of sociology an understanding of current social processes in terms of thousands of years of background." That the cul-

ture concept trend is both an important and an imposing one may be noted from the many monographs and journal articles describing cultural phenomena, cultural changes, cultural patterns of various groups, and cultural conflicts within certain cultural areas. Spencer, Ward, Sumner, and Cooley all emphasized the importance of the study of culture and cultural phenomena, but it might be said that, as House has claimed, it is only within the past fifteen years that the utilization of culture concepts and ideas has begun to take solid root in sociological soil. Dr. M. F. Nimkoff claims that the culture trend is made particularly evident by the great emphasis now being placed upon studies which relate culture and personality.

*The social psychologic and psychiatric trend.* In the attempt to study and explain human behavior, personal and group, it was logical that sociologists should look toward the field of psychology for whatever findings had been made therein. Dr. House believes that the drive toward social psychologic thought was first given by the writings of William James on "instincts" and on the "self." Lester F. Ward had, of course, indicated in his works the primary importance of *desires* as social forces. Small and Vincent in 1894 had used the term *Social Psychology* as a chapter title in their book, *Introduction to the Study of Society* (House, p. 313). In 1908 Ellwood and Ross published the first books bearing the title of *Social Psychology*, one being an application of psychological principles to sociological materials, the other a study of collective behavior phenomena. Since that time about thirty or more books bearing either similar or related titles have been printed in the United States. At present, the study of attitudes, as part of a method of the prediction of human behavior or as an explanation of personality, the use of psychiatric techniques and materials, and the study of behavior in the Gestalt pattern manner, are

significant phases of the trend. Relative to this, Dr. F. Stuart Chapin believes there is a trend toward "the development of sociometrics as illustrated in the construction and standardization of scales to measure social attitudes, morale, personality traits, family adjustments, social status, participation." Dr. Nimkoff mentions the appearance of the *Journal of Sociometrics* which emphasizes studies in interpersonal relations.

This trend, then, whatever its particular emphasis, is an important one, one that is going to be fraught with more and more significance as underscored by the fact that psychologists, psychiatrists, mental hygienists, social workers, and sociologists are all scrutinizing one another's most important research contributions. Moreover, it may be said that the social psychologic trend has unlimited possibilities in it for popularizing sociology.

*The quantitative and inductive research trend.* Here again, a quotation from Professor House may be significant:

The emphasis on research in American Sociology is so strong that it amounts to a tendency on the part of more than one sociologist to assert that sociology is, essentially, a body of research methods and problems, rather than a body of knowledge or a system of concepts (p. 422).

An important phase of this notable trend toward research lies in the use of quantitative materials. Dr. Read Bain states of this trend that it is "based upon the theory that social phenomena are natural phenomena and must be studied from the point of view and by the same general scientific methods prevailing in the other natural sciences." The purpose of the trend's inception may be said to lie in the challenge to the sociologists that they prove themselves to be scientists utilizing the approved methods of science. Hence, a drive toward objectivity has been started, a drive to make for the utilization of "factual materials, rather than suppositional," and capable of being



"analyzed rather than described," states Dr. Earle E. Eubank. The trend is considered most important by Dr. Reuter who believes that there are apparent attempts to formulate sociological data in such a way as to make quantitative results possible. Many sociologists such as E. F. Young, C. M. Case, E. S. Bogardus, H. B. Woolston, J. F. Steiner, William Kirk, E. W. Burgess, and others have noted an increasing emphasis upon the use of quantitative data and methods. Such methods, it is hoped, will make possible prediction of behavior for persons and groups and, according to Dr. J. P. Lichtenberger, will lead to purposeful and "functional investigation." Among other methods of research which have been utilized to make sociology functional may be cited the case-study method, an attempt toward explaining personal behavior by resorting to factual materials drawn from actual behavior performances of persons and groups. Such materials as are found in *The Delinquent Girl*, *The Natural History of a Delinquent Career*, *Case Studies of Unemployment*, *The Jack-Roller*, *The Gang*, and *Five Hundred Criminal Careers* all testify to the forceful utility of this method of research in sociological literature.

*Philosophical-sociologicistic trend and the sociology of knowledge.* Professor Charles A. Ellwood in answering the request for his opinion on trends holds that in opposition to the trends to make sociology a subject utilizing the methods of physical sciences, quantitative and statistical, observation and measurement,

there is a demand upon the part of a small number of American sociologists that sociology in the strict scientific sense should be integrated with social philosophy in order to handle the problems before our civilization.

He also declares that the other trends are in a sense superficial in that they are failing to accomplish anything for the real advancement of the science. In his recent book,

*A History of Social Philosophy*, he really establishes the fact that the trend is not a new one but one that has been neglected from time to time. This new book is an attempt to show that " 'science is not to be dissociated from philosophy, any more than philosophy from science.' " He also drew attention to the new *Journal of Social Philosophy*, a "quarterly devoted to the philosophic synthesis of the social sciences," and particularly to two articles which have appeared therein, namely, Professor Sorokin's article, "Improvement of Scholarship in the Social Sciences," and Professor Albert Salomon's article, "Sociology and Sociologism."

In the first article mentioned above, the social sciences of the twentieth century, records Professor Sorokin, have been in "the fact-finding period, believing in 'the objective method,' in 'quantitative measurement,' 'reflexes,' and 'overt behaviorism.' " These objective factual methods are "not conducive to abstract analytical thinking or to the construction of a vast synthetic theory."<sup>2</sup> In fact, the net result of all this fact-finding is such, he declares, as to provide a nemesis for the fact-finders, and "they find usually only such facts as are already well-known, their study of these is often but a painful elaboration of the obvious."<sup>3</sup> Professor Sorokin pleads not for the abandonment of the fact-finding but for the reinforcement of the factor of thought as such, which calls for a training of sociologists and their students in the "art of penetrating and concentrated thinking—synthesizing as well as analytical," and for "training in the logic, epistemology, and methodology of the social sciences without which even the so-called 'technique' of research usually counts for little."<sup>4</sup> In his written answer to the writer, Professor Sorokin stated:

<sup>2</sup> Pitirim Sorokin, "Improvement of Scholarship in the Social Sciences," *Journal of Social Philosophy*, April, 1937, p. 240.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 243.

After thesis of philosophic sociology and anti-thesis fact-finding sociology, I believe that the next step is synthesizing according to the Hegelian theory. This synthesis would be the synthesizing of logical and empirical thinking and would emphasize the highest forms of culture instead of primitive forms.

Professor Salomon in the second article mentioned above writes effectively on this point as follows:

Indeed sociology will always be a descriptive and analytical social science, applying the methods which are developed in the process of modern thought. On the other hand, it is the logical outcome of the development I attempted to describe that sociology should aim at a new integration into philosophy. It strives to develop a system of social categories and to found the empirical basis for a philosophical science of man.<sup>5</sup>

Certain it is that the discipline furnished by philosophic thought and the fundamentally sound intellectual attitude is probably needed today in a world confronted with baffling complex problems of both a personal and a group nature. Indeed, Dr. Hornell Hart brings his personal reply to a conclusion by stating that "out of the confusion, cynicism, and futility which seem to have been so widespread in sociology in recent years, I think I detect the beginnings of consensus, of socially applicable findings, and of willingness to combine insights with data gathering."

In conclusion, may it not be said then that one of our present needs is to inaugurate a trend that will bring sociologists together in a series of conferences so that they may determine upon a synthetic method which will yield a sociology with a discipline capable of bringing to man that fundamental knowledge which will provide him with a real understanding of himself and his fellow-beings. Only then will he be able to declare himself free!

<sup>5</sup> Albert Salomon, "Sociology and Sociologism," *Journal of Social Philosophy*, April, 1938, p. 220.

## TRACING RACIAL ATTITUDES THROUGH ADOLESCENCE

ROSE ZELIGS

*Avondale School, Cincinnati, Ohio*

Earlier reports on the racial attitudes of sixth-grade children were based upon material obtained through a survey. The techniques used were the Racial Attitudes Indicator,<sup>1</sup> extensive personal interviews,<sup>2</sup> and an association test<sup>3</sup> which indicated the children's concepts of thirty-nine different races or nationalities.

*The problem.* This paper presents a follow-up study of the same children when they were in the sixth, ninth, and twelfth grades. The purpose of this paper is to report at the different grade levels:

1. Changes in racial attitudes
2. The children's reactions toward thirty-nine races
3. The children's reactions toward the various relationships indicating social distance
4. The most liked and most disliked races

*The subjects.* The subjects of this study were twelve American-born Jewish boys and girls from a superior residential section of Cincinnati, Ohio. Their average chronological age in March, 1931, was eleven years eight months. Their average mental age at that time, according to the Otis Group Intelligence Test, Form A, was fourteen years and three months.

*The procedure.* The Racial Attitudes Indicator and

<sup>1</sup> Rose Zeligs and Gordon Hendrickson, "Racial Attitudes of Two Hundred Sixth-Grade Children," *Sociology and Social Research*, 18: 26-36.

<sup>2</sup> Rose Zeligs and Gordon Hendrickson, "Checking the Social Distance Technique Through Personal Interviews, *ibid.*, 18: 420-30. Rose Zeligs and Gordon Hendrickson, "Factors Regarded by Children as the Basis of Their Racial Attitudes," *ibid.*, 19: 225-33.

<sup>3</sup> Rose Zeligs, "Racial Attitudes of Children as Expressed by Their Concepts of Races," *ibid.*, 21: 361-71.

intensive personal interviews were used with twelve of the two hundred children studied in 1931. These techniques were applied to the twelve children when they were in the sixth, ninth, and twelfth grades, in March, 1931, September, 1933, and July, 1937, respectively. This longitudinal method is advantageous in showing actual differences of the same children at various age levels. The limitations of this method, due to the small number of cases, are partly offset by the quantity of material obtained, since each interview took over two and one-half hours.

*Sampling.* Evidence that the twelve cases represent random samples of the two hundred children originally tested was obtained by comparing their average tolerance score on the Racial Attitudes Indicator with the norm for the two hundred cases, based on the 1931 tests. The data show a mean tolerance score of 44 per cent for the two hundred subjects tested in 1931. The mean for the case studies in 1931 was 48.2 per cent. The figures suggest that the twelve children of the present study may be taken as a random sample of the two hundred children originally tested. It is probable, therefore, that their reactions would be representative of the entire group in a study of their present attitudes and the changes that have taken place from the sixth grade through high school.

*Changes in racial attitudes.* Table I gives the chronological and mental age and social distance scores of the twelve subjects on the three tests. Each social distance score represents the total number of favorable reactions made by each child. It consists of all the favorable responses made by the child in regard to any race and any relationship called for on the Racial Attitudes Indicator. The mean score for the twelve cases is 131.7 for 1931, 149.0 for 1933, and 173.5 for 1937. This suggests a general increase in tolerance. However, the average number of races the children claimed they did not know was six in



1931, three in 1933, and one in 1937. Correcting for the effect of these differences on the possible score would make the scores 145.7 for 1931, 157.0 for 1933, and 173.5 for 1937. The data show only very slight positive changes in the group's racial tolerance suggesting that for the twelve cases studied little difference is found between the racial tolerance of children in the sixth, ninth, or twelfth

TABLE I

CHRONOLOGICAL AND MENTAL AGE AND SOCIAL DISTANCE SCORES  
FOR TWELVE CHILDREN TESTED THREE TIMES WITHIN A  
SIX-YEAR PERIOD

Subject	March, 1931		Social Distance Score			Difference		
	Chrono- logical Age	Mental Age	March 1931	Sept. 1933	July 1937	1931- 1933	1933- 1937	1931- 1937
GIRLS								
E.B.	12-0	a16-0	88	118	133	+30	+15	+45
E.H.	12-2	13-9	109	93	203	-16	+10	+94
C.W.	11-10	15-3	136	178	230	+42	+52	+94
S.Z.	10-7	a16-0	115	143	198	+28	+55	+83
C.C.	11-6	14-1	184	159	176	-25	+17	- 8
C.E.	11-8	a16-0	145	133	137	-12	+ 4	- 8
Mean	11-7	15-2	129.5	137.3	179.5	7.8	42.2	50.0
Boys								
J.W.	11-10	11-10	92	84	60	- 6	-24	-30
A.B.	11-9	a16-0	114	161	188	+47	+17	+64
M.D.	11-8	12-3	177	75	166	-102	+91	-11
R.J.	11-11	13-10	160	219	197	+59	-22	+37
A.F.	11-3	13-1	91	193	218	+102	+25	+127
L.B.	11-5	13-6	172	230	176	+58	-54	+ 4
Mean	11-8	13-5	134.3	160.7	167.5	+24.3	+ 6.8	+31.1
Mean for 12 Cases	11-8	14-3	131.7	149.0	173.5	+16.1	+24.5	+40.6
Per Cent			48.2	54.6	63.1	5.9	9.0	+14.9
Corrected Mean <sup>1</sup>			145.7	157.0	173.5	+11.3	+16.5	+27.8

<sup>1</sup> Corrected for difference in number of don't know's.

grade. The average increase in tolerance from 1931 to 1933 was 6 per cent. The average change regardless of direction was 16 per cent. The average increase in tolerance from 1933 to 1937 was 9 per cent and the average change regardless of direction was 15 per cent. The data suggest that the environmental factors to which the young people have been subjected are not conducive to growth in racial tolerance so that the attitudes of sixth grade children are very similar to those of high school graduates.

Inspection of the individual scores reveals some variation in the amount of change that took place. Large individual differences are found in the children's scores at all the three periods tested. Little relationship is found between racial tolerance and intelligence in the cases studied. These facts point to the early conditioning and the emotional nature of racial attitudes.

*The children's reactions toward thirty-nine races or nationalities.* What changes in attitudes have taken place toward each of the thirty-nine races or nationalities? Table II gives the total number of favorable reactions for each race for the three periods studied. These indexes were found by adding the total number of favorable responses for each relationship, for every race, expressed by the twelve children. The differences between the indexes obtained at the three dates are also given in the table. The races are arranged in the order of friendliness expressed toward them according to the 1931 reactions.<sup>4</sup> The rank order given the races by the two hundred children in 1931 and by the 1,725 adults reported by Bogardus<sup>5</sup> are also given in the table.

<sup>4</sup> It will be noted in Table II that the twelve cases give the Russian and German Jews a somewhat more favorable ranking than that given by the 200 children studied in 1931. This may be partly explained by the racial background of the children. The twelve cases reported in this study were all of Jewish origin while only 163 of the 200 children studied in 1931 were Jewish.

<sup>5</sup> E. S. Bogardus, *Immigration and Race Attitudes* (New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1928), p. 25.

In general, the data show that American and white European races continue to be more acceptable than the colored or Oriental races. The Americans, Jews, English, French, Canadians, and Dutch head the list. It is interesting to note that the two groups not belonging to the white race, the American Indian and the Japanese, who were ranked relatively high by the children in 1931 have been less favored at the later dates so that their relative positions are now closer to that given them by Bogardus' adults.<sup>6</sup>

The general tendency is for a very slight increase in friendliness. The feeling of friendliness has increased somewhat toward some of the races previously unknown to the children, such as the Finns, Czechoslovaks, Bohemians, Syrians, and Servians. Some increases are also found toward the Canadians, Scotch, and Irish, Hungarians, and Norwegians. These changes cause the groups mentioned to be ranked more closely to the position given them by Bogardus' adults. Slightly greater antipathy is expressed toward the Germans, Hindus, and Arabs. This is to be expected since all the subjects tested were of the Jewish race and have been influenced by the recent unfavorable attitudes of the Germans and Arabs.

Table II shows how fixed are the children's ideas about races. Any changes that do exist are in the direction of the attitudes expressed by adults or are due to very unusual conditions in a certain country.

*The reactions toward the various relationships indicating social distance.* How do the subjects react to the various relationships? Table III shows the total number of favorable responses toward the thirty-nine races, for each relationship, and the changes that were found. There is a tendency for the high school graduates to make fewer differentiations between relationships than they did when

<sup>6</sup> *Loc. cit.*

TABLE II

INDEX FOR THIRTY-NINE RACES OF THE SOCIAL DISTANCE ALLOWED  
BY TWELVE CHILDREN IN 1931, 1933, AND 1937

RACE	<i>Tolerance Index</i>			<i>Difference</i>			<i>Ranking</i>	
	1931	1933	1937	1931- 1933	1933- 1937	1931- 1937	200 Chil- dren 1931	1,725 Adults Bogar- dus
1. American	83	84	84	+1	0	+1	1	2
2. German Jew	79	84	84	+5	0	+5	3	24
3. English	77	81	78	+4	-3	+1	2	1
4. French	68	75	77	+7	+2	+9	4	6
5. Russian Jew	68	84	84	+16	0	+16	5	26
6. Canadian	62	80	83	+18	+3	+21	8	3
7. Dutch	61	68	74	+7	+6	+13	6	10
8. American Indian	59	49	42	-10	-7	-17	12	23
9. Japanese	53	49	36	-4	-13	-17	11	30
10. Polish	51	53	69	+2	+16	+18	14	18
11. Swedish	51	59	53	+8	-6	+2	13	9
12. Irish	49	56	74	+7	+18	+25	9	5
13. German	48	41	36	-7	-5	-12	7	7
14. Norwegian	47	60	67	+13	+7	+20	15	11
15. French-Canadian	45	71	74	+26	+3	+29	18	8
16. Mexican	45	31	49	-14	+18	+4	20	29
17. Greek	45	39	49	-6	+10	+4	19	27
18. Italian	43	36	46	-7	+10	+3	21	16
19. Spanish	42	33	64	-9	+31	+22	16	13
20. Hungarian	41	45	63	+4	+18	+22	23	10
21. Russian	40	49	45	+9	-4	+5	10	15
22. Scotch	40	47	63	+7	+16	+23	17	4
23. Chinese	38	31	38	-7	+7	0	24	34
24. Turk	36	31	33	-5	+2	-3	27	33
25. Roumanian	35	66	65	+31	-1	+30	25	20
26. Bulgarian	34	33	48	-1	+15	+14	29	25
27. Dane	33	35	57	+2	+22	+24	26	12
28. Hindu	31	18	17	-13	-1	-14	33	36
29. Filipino	30	37	53	+7	+16	+23	22	30
30. Finn	24	38	60	+14	+22	+36	31	14
31. Czechoslovak	21	43	58	+22	+15	+27	28	22
32. Portuguese	21	29	57	+8	+28	+36	30	17
33. Negro	16	14	12	-2	-2	-4	34	32
34. Bohemian	27	34	54	+17	+20	+37	35	
35. Arab	14	22	8	+18	-14	-6	32	
36. Armenian	13	18	28	+5	+10	+15	37	21
37. Servian	11	20	31	+9	+11	+20	38	
38. Syrian	8	25	40	+17	+15	+32	36	28
39. Mulatto	6	13	12	+7	-1	+6	39	35
TOTAL	1,595	1,789	2,065	+194	+276	+470		

they were sixth grade pupils. The greatest increase is found in the relationship of *cousin*. As would be expected, at the age of eighteen, the subjects are more particular about whom they will have for a *roommate* than they were at the age of twelve. The method of ranking the various relationships by the high school graduates makes *roommate* the most intimate relationship. This is closely followed by *cousin*, then by *chum*, *playmate*, *neighbor*, *classmate*, and *schoolmate*. This greater tendency of the subjects to generalize at the age of eighteen shows the acceptance of stereotypes and the influence of earlier habits. Little thoughtful analysis and separate consideration of each relationship in regard to each race are given.

TABLE III

RELATIVE SOCIAL DISTANCE OF RELATIONSHIPS TOWARD THIRTY-NINE RACES AS INDICATED BY TWELVE CHILDREN ON THE RACIAL ATTITUDES INDICATOR IN 1931, 1933, AND 1937

Relationship	Social Distance			Difference		
	1931	1933	1937	1931-1933	1933-1937	1931-1937
Cousin	121	145	243	+ 24	+ 98	+122
Chum	162	216	261	+ 54	+ 45	+ 99
Roommate	143	209	237	+ 66	+ 28	+ 94
Playmate	290	287	299	- 3	+ 12	+ 9
Neighbor	263	255	299	- 8	+ 44	+ 36
Classmate	283	320	360	+ 37	+ 40	+ 77
Schoolmate	333	357	372	+ 24	+ 15	+ 39
TOTAL	1,595	1,789	2,071	194	+282	+476

*The most liked and most disliked races.* The material presented up to this point was based on the data obtained through the use of the Racial Attitudes Indicator. More concrete illustrations of the subjects' attitudes were made available through the personal interviews. In the inter-



views the subjects were asked to name the races or nationalities they liked most and those they disliked most and to give reasons for their feelings. Of the sixteen races mentioned as liked most in 1931 twelve were again given under that title in 1937. Nine of the ten most liked races mentioned most often in 1931 were again mentioned most often in 1933 and 1937 as favorite races. These included the Jews, Americans, English, Dutch, Polish, Canadians, Spanish, French, and Irish.

Nine of the ten races mentioned as most disliked in 1931 were again so mentioned in 1933 and 1937. With a few exceptions these races were ranked in about the same order as in 1931. The most disliked races included the Negro, German, Arab, Mexican, Turk, Hindu, Chinese, Japanese, and Italian. The races mentioned in 1937 more often than in 1931 as being disliked were the Germans, Arabs, Chinese, Japanese, and Italians. Eight of the disliked races are found on the lowest half of the list of thirty-nine races arranged according to favorable reactions of the two hundred subjects on the Racial Attitudes Indicator, in 1931. These data give added support to the reliability of the social distance technique as a measure of racial attitudes. At the same time they show how deep-rooted and unchanging are attitudes and prejudices ingrained in early childhood.

More specific evidence of the unchanging attitudes is found in the reasons usually given by the subjects to explain those attitudes. The reasons given by the high school graduates are in most cases practically the same as those given by them when they were high school freshmen or sixth graders. The only outstanding change is found in the attitudes toward the Germans. This is, of course, due to the effect of anti-Semitism in Germany. The reasons generally given for liking a race are personal membership in the group or its similarity in language, custom,

culture, and color, to one's own race. Reasons given for disliking a race are differences in color and customs or prejudices of that race toward one's own race.

*Summary.* A follow-up study of racial attitudes in children was made by the use of the Racial Attitudes Indicator and personal interviews. The techniques were applied to the same children when they were about twelve, fifteen, and eighteen years old. The following findings are limited to the twelve cases studied.

1. Little change is noted in the racial tolerance of the children during the six-year period.

2. Changes toward certain races made the attitudes of the older children more like those of the adults studied by Bogardus.

3. Greater friendliness is shown toward races previously unknown to the children.

4. The older children show a greater tendency to generalize and therefore make fewer differentiations between relationships. For them *roommate* is the most intimate relationship on the indicator.

5. Most of the races toward which favorable and unfavorable attitudes were expressed in 1931 are again mentioned in the same way in 1937. Greater antipathy is expressed in 1937 toward the Germans, Arabs, Chinese, Japanese, and Italians.

6. That racial attitudes are formed in early childhood and remain relatively fixed is indicated by the children's reasons explaining their attitudes. Those given in 1937 were very often identical with the reasons given in the earlier interviews.

7. Many of the attitudes show the children's feeling of the superiority of their own race and those similar to them in color, language, or culture, and their feeling of the inferiority of races that are different.

8. The factual basis for the attitudes of the high school graduates is often superficial and in many cases erroneous.

9. The material suggests the need for giving high school students more definite, unbiased information about racial groups and teaching them to appreciate the contributions of cultures that are different from their own.

## FASHION: ITS ROLE IN HAWAII

MARGARET M. LAM

*Honolulu, Hawaii*

A bewildered impression that Hawaii gives the uninitiated visitor is that these islets are a world of cultural chaos. A conglomeration of incomprehensible customs, of strange modes of behavior, of unintelligible languages, of all imaginable hues or shades of color of skin, and of various exotic combinations of racial physical features looms before the newcomer as he tours through the cosmopolitan sections of Honolulu. Yet out of this seeming chaotic milieu, he discovers that order prevails, a uniformity of social action and thinking rules, and a sympathetic understanding exists. Moreover, as he scrutinizes more closely, he perceives a developing island culture dominating, a culture that approximates the Occidental pattern of behavior. On the highways, in the stores, on the school campus, and in all loci of individual or group activities the American mode of attire prevails. On the golf field he notes swarthy and yellow-skinned players. Stepping into an islander's dwelling he finds himself in an abode amazingly modeled after the Occidental's in style and furnishings. In his perusal of social events and activities in the island metropolis, he observes that the inhabitants of these isles pursue their social entertainment in the familiar manner of his countrymen.

In sum, the reflective Mainland tourist finally concludes that the rising younger element of Hawaii's population is being rapidly organized around what appears to be a *haole* culture that is peculiar only to the Hawaiian Islands. A puissant force seems to lie behind this cultural phenomenon. Indeed, a potent factor is at work, giving

unity and organization to this developing culture. The question now arises: What gigantic force is converting the island's cultural "mess" into a social structure of its own? What is the nature of it, and how does it function?

An answer to this query may be found in Dr. Herbert Blumer's hypothesis on the role of *fashion* in a society constructed around "civilization." Fashion, in the first place, represents a mode of life and the adoption of it incurs no social disorganization. It furnishes the type and the nature of behavior patterns for the individual. Mental dispositions exhibited in attitudes, thoughts, and sentiments, physical inclinations revealed in daily actions, and other distinct habits displayed in conscious and unconscious conduct constitute some of the major areas in the configuration of a person's life that fashion shapes, interacts, and replenishes. In a more tangible and superficial way, fashion dictates the style or mode of attire, sets forth the manner of social entertaining, and presents the kind of recreational life that society is to pursue. It performs this colossal role in an orderly manner, organizing societal and individual life rather than disrupting it. It is able to prevent personal social disorganization because it possesses a subtle inherent quality that appeals to the inner urges and wishes of human nature. In view of this fact, fashion may be regarded as a form of social control. Thus it follows, secondly, that fashion possesses the significant function of organization and unification. Thirdly, fashion involves group identification or role-taking. In this way, it offers an outlet for the expression of certain pent-up or unfulfilled desires and impulses.

These attributes of fashion have indeed influenced to a great degree the form and content of the present island culture. It would now be of interest to us to examine in a cursory way the manner in which fashion performs its function in Hawaii, and the *modus vivendi* it furnishes



to the vast army of native-born inhabitants who find themselves in the anomalous position of belonging and yet not belonging to any one ethnic group and culture.

The complexity of the cultural milieu, the struggle of the divers cultures for survival, the clash of conflicting group mores and practices, the organized efforts to facilitate the process of Occidental acculturation, and the poignant desire of the rising generation to immerse themselves in the beckoning waves of Americanism, all create in Hawaii an exotic workshop for fashion. Moreover, fashion, as a *modus vivendi*, emerges first from the favored ethnic group of the islands—the *haole*. The latter sets down the pattern of life; the mass mimics in its peculiar way. Let us now view closely one tangible aspect in the complex of behavior pattern that fashion performs singularly—that in the realm of clothing.

The common observation that the outward appearance of a person reveals how Americanized he has become is another way of interpreting the fact that fashion furnishes a significant standard by which society can surmise on the degree of acculturation its members of immigrant parents have attained. Such a conjecture is neither flagrantly erroneous nor grossly misleading. The form of one's attire and the taste that is exhibited in his manner of self-adornment constitute a measurement of the extent to which an individual has become assimilated to the dominant or prevailing culture of his society. For example, an Asiatic girl of the second generation who decides that the "American style" of living is the pattern of life that she will pursue places her first emphasis on her apparel. Society should know her cultural preference, and the only means of revealing her desire is in the way she clothes and adorns herself. Thus it is of utmost concern to her that her manner of attire approximates that of the *haole*. It must be consonant with the Occidental

idea of what is esthetic, what is good taste, and what is proper in the adornment of one's self. Before presenting herself to the hostess and her guests at an afternoon tea, for example, she must see that her gown, hat, shoes, gloves, and other accessories are in accordance with the kind, the place, and the atmosphere of the particular social function she is attending. In her daily apparel, she should attend to such minute details as the matching of the buckle of her belt with the buttons on her garment in shape and color, or the selection of novelty jewelry, the choice of the type and shape of hat and the style of shoes to harmonize with a certain dress. Self-adornment is an art in a culture, and one must become acquainted with this art and assimilate the esthetic feeling and meaning that are embodied in it if he desires to be identified with the culture of his preference. The chaotic picture of a woman who has on a red beaded garment, a blue felt hat, a pair of white canvas shoes, and a pair of black kid gloves immediately brings to our mind a person who has not wholly become a part of the culture of his environment, but one who has only partially assimilated and confusedly adopted the clothing complex of the Europeans. We see, then, that fashion subtly unifies that group of Hawaii's younger population who are desirous of assuming the Occidental pattern of life. It comes to the aid of persons who are entangled or lost in the maze of clashing group mores and practices, and assists them in adjusting themselves to the cultural world of their choice. In other words, it provides a means by which individuals can organize themselves around the external features of Occidental mode of attire. Thus fashion provides an opportunity for them to give expression to their inner desire to become identified with the favored ethnic group.

As a second example, let us turn to one aspect of the social and recreational life of the people in Hawaii and

see how fashion operates in this area. The Occidental manner of entertaining, such as formal and informal dinners, buffet suppers, bridge teas, luncheons, dance parties, and the like, has been adopted by the socially ambitious in the islands. One needs only to peruse the social columns of the newspapers to catch a glimpse of the extent to which this social pattern has been borrowed from the culture of prestige. Some of these parties are remarkable imitations of those given by refined whites, while others are just as ludicrous and chaotic as the example just cited of a woman with a red beaded garment, a blue felt hat, and a pair of white canvas shoes. In other words, they are a mixture, if not a confusion, of Occidental and foreign customs or etiquette of entertaining.

Moreover, there has been established a number of social clubs and pseudo-intellectual organizations all modeled after those of the *haoles*. Monthly or quarterly business meetings are held, guest speakers are invited to address the members, and a social hour is enjoyed afterward. It is fashionable to join these clubs for it connotes social distinction and recognition. Not many years ago it was news whenever any of the parties or social club affairs appeared in the daily public press. Today these activities occupy an impressive portion in the social section of both of the leading newspapers in Honolulu.

We see again that fashion acts as an invisible force in organizing the leisure hours around a particular pattern of social life. It serves also as a means by which individuals may seek an outlet for the expression of their desire for social recognition as well as identification with the preferred ethnic stock of the islands.

The same may be said of the various kinds of amusement. Tennis and golf are forms of diversion indulged in first by the *haoles*. Golf is fashionable in the city, while in some parts of the rural districts tennis is a "white

man's sport." That which is fashionable becomes the object of desire and imitation and, consequently, the hand of fashion gathers together those whose souls famish for diversion and promptly organizes them around that form of pastime which is pursued by members of the favored race.

Fashion, as we now perceive, is a vital force in the development of the social structure of Hawaiian society. Its functions are especially significant because Hawaii represents an area of cultural conflict, and naturally a land of increasing production of individuals of marginal personality. This exotic society is still in the making; its cultural structure is in its initial stage; members of its younger population are deeply absorbed in allocating themselves in the social order; and its alien members are engaged in adjusting themselves to their culturally estranged offspring.

Fashion, in its role of furnishing patterns of behavior, and of setting forth the prevailing *modus vivendi*, may be viewed as a potent agent of acculturation. Not only is it an agent, but it represents a means by which acculturation takes place. In assuming such a function it throws light on such questions or problems as these: How do people come to acquire foreign ways of living? Why do people prefer foreign habits of living to those of their native or ethnic group? What determines the adoption of a certain "cultural trait" or "complex"? That is, why are certain habits and behavior patterns of a culture assimilated and others discarded? Finally, how do people take over the feelings, sentiments, and meanings embodied in the material culture that they adopt? With regard to the latter problem fashion appears to play only an indirect role in the subtle aspect of cultural assimilation, for it does not seek to interpret the mode of life that it furnishes. This fact is seen in the incipient development

of a *haole* culture that is peculiar only to these Polynesian islets. However, fashion possesses in itself an inherent quality that satisfies certain poignant human urges and desires and, because it contains this spontaneous appeal to human nature, it is able to organize the life of an individual around these vital human wishes. This fact explains, to a certain extent, why a cultural transitional area like Hawaii has its social disorganization reduced to a comparative minimum. Moreover, the prevailing cultural pattern is Occidental, and, since fashion provides an outlet for the expression of the desire to map one's life after the preferred ethnic group, the gratification of this identification role tends toward organizing or building up an individual's personality rather than disorganizing it.

In this wise, then, fashion aids in the development of the present cultural organization of modern Hawaiian society and in the selection of the content of its culture. In this manner, also, fashion acts as an agent of acculturation, facilitating rather than retarding the cultural assimilation of the increasing second- and third-generation population of Hawaii.



## MEASUREMENT IN GROUP WORK

### *Leader-Group Profiles*

ALLEN S. ELLSWORTH, *Graduate Student*

and

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

*The University of Southern California*

Previous study in the field of leadership and social distance suggests many ideas concerning the measurement and evaluation of leadership through employing social distance data. Vertical and horizontal social distance particularly has been used to understand and express the qualities of leadership in a new light. Ten years ago it was said that "To the extent which social distance can be charted, light will be thrown on the underlying conditions of leadership."<sup>1</sup> It was from this point that the study of leader-group distance was begun, hoping that from the findings and charts which follow some light might be thrown upon the leadership studied and that some conclusions might be drawn that will be of value to the development of leaders in the future. It is realized and should be stated at the outset that since only five clubs were studied there are limitations in the findings, but they, along with the method employed, may be of interest and may throw further light upon the statement quoted above.

In making this study, three sources were employed: (1) articles pertaining to the subject of leadership and other studies of social distance material; (2) observation, including interviews with leaders of the various groups and finding out as much as possible about both the leaders themselves and the individual members in their groups;

<sup>1</sup> E. S. Bogardus, "Leadership and Social Distance," *Sociology and Social Research*, 12: 173-78.

and (3) the use of two questionnaires, one to be filled out by leaders and one by the group members. Five leaders and six club groups were studied, but the results for only two of the groups will be included in this paper to conserve space. The two clubs which are included were chosen because they differed widely, thus illustrating more clearly the method employed. Social distance factors, such as age distance, educational distance, occupational distance, cultural distance, and personality distance, were considered in interpreting the leader-group distance measured.

Copies of the questionnaire follow. These were made out in the hope of determining the leader-group relationship concerning: (1) the degree of "part of the gang" feeling; (2) leader-group knowledge of each other; (3) the freedom of the followers to discuss personal problems with the leader; (4) the degree of democratic control attained by the leader; (5) the respect of the followers for the leader, and the respect felt by the leader; and (6) a general evaluation of the leader-group relationship. More than one question was included for answers on certain relationships. Under each question in varying order there were five choices of social nearness that could be checked: very little, little, some, considerably, very considerably. The following nearness values were arbitrarily assigned the choices: very little=1; little=2; some=3; considerably=4; and very considerably=5. The group average was taken on each question and in cases where more than one question was used in order to discover a specific relationship, averages were taken on the question averages already obtained. The specific relationships which the questions were used to determine are indicated in parentheses at the end of the question. All the questions were averaged to determine the general evaluation of the leader-group relationship.

## LEADER'S QUESTIONNAIRE

1. To what degree do you feel that your club leadership experience has been a success?
2. How well do you feel that you know the members of your group? (2)
3. To what degree do you feel that you are one of the gang? (1)
4. To what degree do you feel that you have the respect of the group? (5)
5. How often are members of the group coming to you to discuss personal problems? (3)
6. To what degree do you feel that your group has made progress in its development?
7. How much do you feel that the members of the group look up to you because of general or special ability you have in doing certain things better than they can? (5)
8. How far do you feel that the group is on a democratic basis? (4)

## CLUB MEMBERS' QUESTIONNAIRE

1. To what degree does your leader make valuable suggestions for better club meetings?
2. How far do you feel that he is one of the gang? (1)
3. How often is he likely to oppose something the club is doing? (4)
4. To what extent do you feel that he has brought you to face new experiences? (5)
5. How far does he stimulate you to think on specific interests with which you are dealing?
6. To what degree is the club making a contribution to your life? (5)
7. How far do you feel that he has a deep interest in the club?
8. How deeply do you feel that he is interested in you personally? (3)
9. How free do you feel to discuss personal questions with him? (3)
10. How strong a conviction do you feel that he has concerning the purpose of the club? (5)
11. How far does he impress you as having more interests in life than you have? (5)
12. To what extent do you feel that you know your leader? (2)

## EVALUATION OF DATA

*Group A:* On Point 1 or "part of the gang" feeling, the members of Group A gave an average social nearness measurement of 4.8 out of a possible 5.0 or a social farness rating of only 0.2, which indicated that the leader was considered a "part of the gang" almost as much as one could be. The leader, on the other hand, rated himself at 3.0, or a social farness rating of 2.0 showing a feel-

ing of considerably greater distance. Thus the average of the leader-follower distance measured is 1.1 as shown on Figure 1 by the shaded area. This distance is less than that rated by the leader due to the relatively closer group feeling, and greater than the group rating due to a relatively distant feeling on the part of the leader.

On Point 2 or "knowledge of each other," the group rating of nearness was 4.0, which is a farness rating of 1.0. This may be contrasted with the leader's nearness estimate of 3.0 or a social farness rating of 2.0, which indicates that the group felt that they knew their leader better than he thought that he knew them. The averaged leader-group distance is 1.5.

On Point 3, "the freedom to go to the leader to discuss problems," the club reported an average reaction of 3.9 with a social farness of 1.1 while the leader estimated his nearness at 3.5 or his farness at 1.5. The averaged leader-group farness between the two is 1.3.

Point 4 concerns democratic control which is supposed to be used in all group relationships as much as possible. The averaged leader-group nearness is 4.45 as felt by the group. The nearness estimate by club was 3.9 and the leader's 5.0, showing that he felt no distance, thus reducing the averaged leader-group distance as shown above.

On Point 5, "respect," both club and leader showed agreement with nearness measurements of 4.0 and 3.8, respectively. The social farness of each is 1.0 and 1.2, respectively or an averaged L.G. (leader-group) distance of 1.1.

On Point 6, "general evaluation of the leader-group relationship," the group distance was 1.01 with a nearness rating of 3.99 and the leader's social farness was 1.25 with a nearness rating of 3.75. The averaged leader-group distance felt was 1.12. The reasons for this existing distance are probably (1) the reserved nature of the group

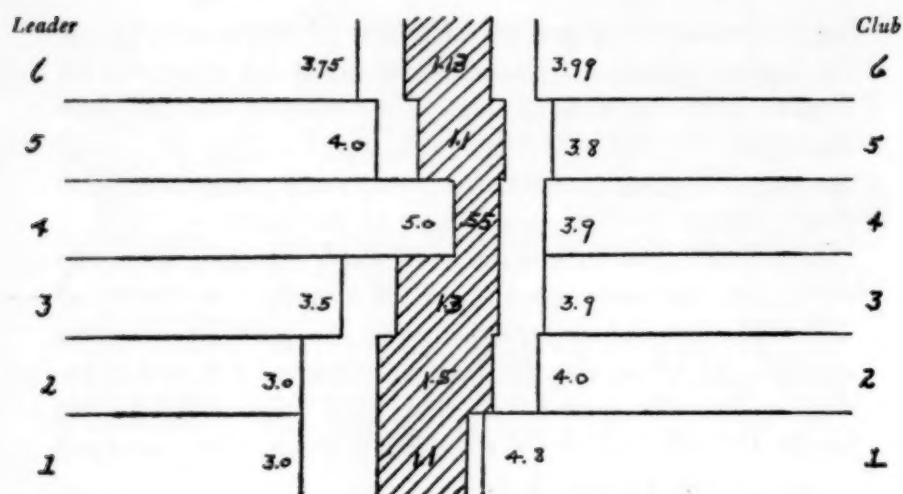


FIGURE 1. AVERAGE LEADER-FOLLOWER DISTANCE IN CLUB A.

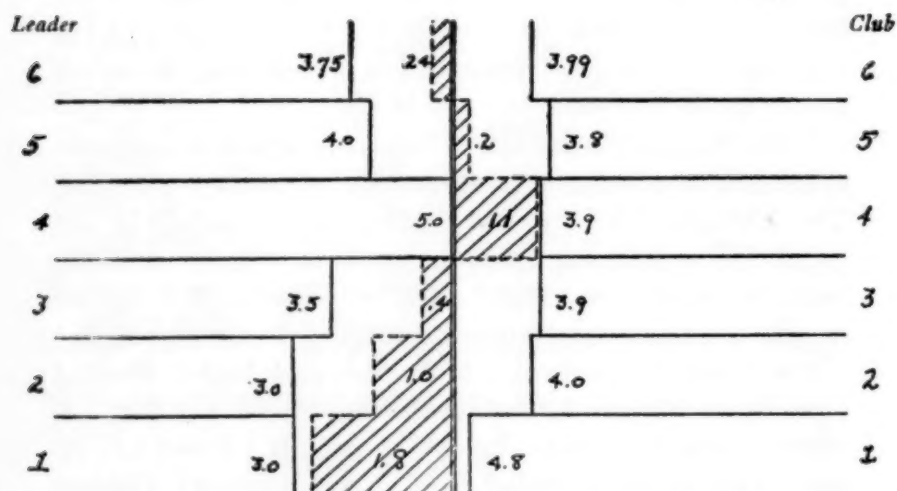


FIGURE 2. SOCIAL DISTANCE DIFFERENTIAL IN CLUB A.

members as against the more extrovertive nature of the leader, and (2) the lack of opportunity open to the members to come to the leader, as he, although often around at the time, is usually busy with the details of his work.

It is evident from Point 6 on Figure 1 that both leader



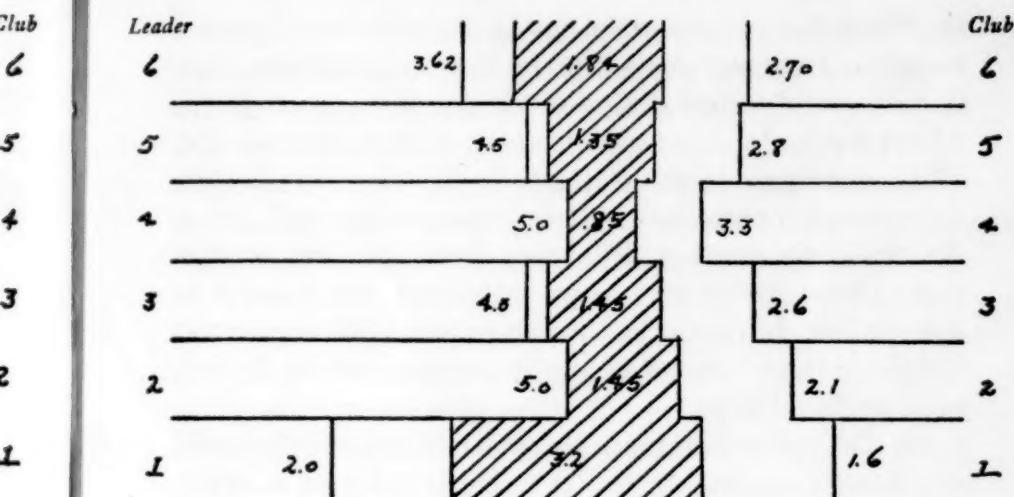


FIGURE 3. AVERAGE LEADER-FOLLOWER DISTANCE IN CLUB B.

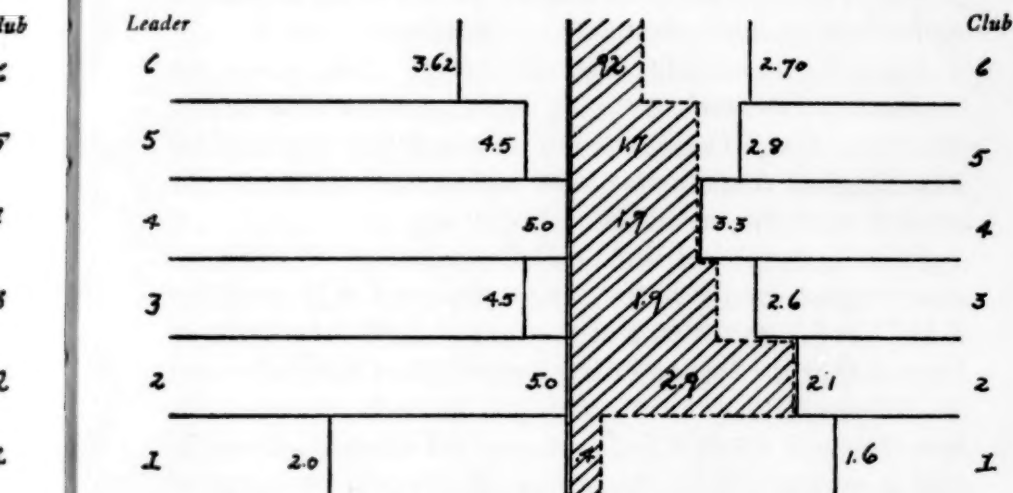


FIGURE 4. SOCIAL DISTANCE DIFFERENTIAL IN CLUB B.

and followers in Group A were in comparative agreement as to the success of the group experience. Both their nearness measurements, however, of 3.75 and 3.99, respectively, showed that there were weaknesses in the relationship that kept it from being as successful as it could

be. Since the successful leader is one whose actions are based on a correct evaluation of the leader-group situation, it would follow that with Group A there are points where the leader has failed to make a proper evaluation. The correctness of the evaluation can be shown by the difference between the leader's measurement and that of the club; the smallest difference shows the best evaluation. These differences were calculated and plotted in Figure 2 by the dotted line, in the hope of gaining greater insight into the causes of the weaknesses of the leader-group relationship.

On Point 1 a difference or social distance differential of 1.8 indicates that the leader failed to a degree to evaluate correctly the "part of the gang" feeling. This probably made the leader hold himself back and led to failure on his part to take advantage of situations.

Point 2, "knowledge of each other," also shows the leader to be somewhat wrong in his interpretation of the situation. The S.D.D. (social distance differential) is 1.0 and suggests that he was slow to take advantage of his contact with the members of his group.

Point 3 shows but little S.D.D., only 0.4, which indicates a good interpretation by the leader. On Point 4 the S.D.D. is 1.1 on the side of the group. In this case it may be said that the leader failed somewhat in his evaluation of "democratic control" and put himself forward too forcefully. A small S.D.D. of only 0.2 exists on Point 5; this is on the side of the group. It reveals the point of best evaluation on the part of the leader.

Point 6, the "general evaluation of the group experience," shows a S.D.D. of 0.24 on the side of the leader and, as has been mentioned above, shows agreement as to the success of the experience on the part of both leader and followers. It also points out that the leader's general evaluation of the group experience was good.

*Group B:* All the ratings on Figure 3 for Club B indicate considerable distance. Even the general evaluation of the group experience shows an averaged farness of 1.84, which possibly points to the fact that this relationship was not particularly good. This great distance is undoubtedly due to a number of factors: (1) the age difference between the leader and followers was the greatest of any studied; (2) personality distance was great since the leader takes responsibility well while the club members do not, and the leader is quiet and tends to be unsocial and introvertive while the followers are noisy and extrovertive; and (3) there is a great deal of educational distance between the leader and followers. Democratic control is given the highest rating by the group, an averaged social farness of only 0.85. This probably gives a clue to the reason why this leader-follower relationship continues in the light of all the averaged distance shown.

The social distance differential is used again in seeking insight into the causes of the weaknesses in the relationship in Club B. Figure 4 shows the S.D.D.'s. On Point 1 the leader shows good analysis and realization of the great amount of distance existing on "part of the gang" feeling. Other points show greater S.D.D. measurements which indicate that for the most part the leader did not interpret the relationship correctly. The fact that all the differential measurements are on the side of the club indicates that the leader was overconfident in his ability as a leader. Perhaps this confidence is the very reason why the leader-group relationship has never realized greater success.

By comparing both the A.S.D.'s (averaged social distances) and S.D.D.'s further interpretations may be made. For example, the two charts for Club A show that on points where the leader had correctly defined the situation, his leadership was successful. Consequently it would

be expected that he could and would improve his leadership on other respects once he learns of his errors in evaluation. The two charts for Club B, although they show a lack of present success in the leader-group relationship, leave the possibility that once the leader has gained a correct evaluation of the situation, he will be able to improve his leadership and consequently the leader-group relationship.

### SUMMARY

Thus it may be seen that the A.S.D. (shown by the shaded areas on Figures 1 and 3) provides a means of evaluating the success of a leader-group relationship. The larger the averaged social farness, the less successful is the relationship, while a smaller averaged social farness shows a more successful relationship.

The social distance differential is used to indicate the reasons causing the success or failure of the leader-group relationships. The S.D.D. is found by calculating the difference between the leader's estimate and that of the followers and is shown by the dotted line on Figures 2 and 4. The larger the S.D.D., or the farther the dotted line varies from the center, the poorer is the leader's definition of the situation, and the weaker is his leadership. The smaller the S.D.D. or the nearer the dotted line comes to the center, the more nearly correct is the leader's evaluation and the more successful is his leadership.

A comparison of the averaged social distance and the social distance differential is also important since it yields some indications regarding the future of the leader in the leader-group relationship. It is realized, of course, that this method needs further development and application if it is to become a reliable method for evaluating leader-group relationships.

## Races and Cultures

**I SPEAK FOR THE CHINESE.** By CARL CROW. New York: Trans-Pacific News Service, 1938, pp. 84.

The author has lived for many years in China and understands her political development and problems thoroughly. He presents the Chinese viewpoint regarding the Japanese invasion; he states that viewpoint simply and with clarity. He holds that the Japanese "are distinctly Malayan in their lack of the comic relief." They take minor matters without a sense of humor; and they take themselves too seriously all the time.

China has been disappointed in the United States. She "relied on the peace-at-any-price Americans who virtuously side-step present problems for future generations to settle." For the sake of her security, militarist Japan is going to claim Central China, then South China, then Hongkong, then what? The more territory the militarists capture, the more they will need to capture in order to protect their security, such is the blind folly that Japanese policy represents and that the rest of the Eastern world must cope with or else surrender.

B.H.K.

**NEVER TO DIE.** The Egyptians in Their Own Words. Selected and Arranged with Commentary. By JOSEPHINE MAYER and TOM PRIDEAUX. New York: The Viking Press, 1938, pp. 224.

This is an interesting collection of the writings of the ancient Egyptians, reflecting a good deal of the social thought from Egypt and covering a period of time from 2980 B.C. to about 1000 B.C. The book is well and profusely illustrated with an eye toward the revelation of the accompanying written materials. The greater part of the line-drawings have been taken from the reliefs which decorated the walls of tombs and temples, according to the authors. Brief historical sketches have been made introductory to the period under observation and serve to orient the reader properly. Judging from the writings of the Egyptians, it is clear that they thought pretty clearly and logically about some of their problems and manifested a keen delight in telling stories with significance for their own times.

M.J.V.



THE HISTORY OF ETHNOLOGICAL THEORY. By ROBERT N. LOWIE. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1937, pp. xiii+296.

Professor Lowie has with creditable distinction for himself written this much needed book dealing with a survey of the important contributions made to ethnology by the greatest of the writers in the special field dealing with that part of anthropology concerning culture. The thoughts of the pioneers, Meinero, Klemm, Waitz, and those of Bactian, Morgan, Tylor, and Boas are taken up in the first nine chapters, while the work of the historical schools represented by the British and German diffusionists are dealt with in the two succeeding chapters. Chapter XII deals with the French sociologists Durkheim and Levy Bruhl, and Radcliff Browne. The functionalism of Molinowski and Thurnwald is reserved for Chapter XIII.

In the final chapter, Lowie indulges in retrospection and prospecting. Four *simpliste* errors he finds to be definitely discarded, namely, environmentalism, racialism, the notion of a prelogical primitiveness, and primitive intellectualism. For the main part, the cultural anthropologists today are in harmony beyond matters of general approach, although there remain sharp differences on a number of special problems. For the future progress of the subject, Lowie declares that, first of all, *apt concepts* must be a primary goal, for without them "even a simple charting of distributions is invalidated." The hope of ethnology lies in the maintenance of a universalist and objective approach such as Tylor and Boas have utilized. It will utilize data arranged chronologically after the geographer's method, the "logic and techniques of geology, historical astronomy, political history."

This is a book of prime importance for the student of culture history as well as for the student of the social sciences. Its style is simple and direct, and furthermore, Lowie's discussions of the various contributions to ethnological theory are so invigorating and pointed that one wishes an even extended discussion.

M.J.V.

EUROPE IN CRISIS. By VERA M. DEAN. New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1938, pp. 56.

This carefully prepared brochure discusses: Fascist dictatorships on trial, the Soviet executions, the ability of democracy to hold its own, the "little world war" in Spain, and "Which way peace?" The author argues strongly for international collaboration in behalf of democratic principles. She believes that a general European war will drag the United States into war, and ably defends the principles of collective security.

**HOW THE NORTH CHINA AFFAIR AROSE.** By the Foreign Affairs Association of Japan. Tokyo, 1937, pp. 48.

**WHY THE FIGHTING IN SHANGHAI.** By the Foreign Affairs Association of Japan. Tokyo, 1937, pp. 54.

Unfortunately neither of these documents is convincing. They represent Japanese propaganda of the type that does Japan more harm than good.

**THE SINO-JAPANESE CRISIS, 1937.** By the Japanese Chamber of Commerce of New York. New York City, 1937, pp. 62.

Interesting chiefly as a piece of propaganda that speaks for China rather than for Japan. The statements given are contradicted by first-hand evidence from China.

**THE SIGNIFICANCE TO THE WORLD OF THE CONFLICT IN THE FAR EAST.** By W. W. WILLOUGHBY. New York: Chinese Cultural Society, 1937, pp. 14.

If China cannot resist Japan, then the maintenance of international law and order is threatened and the existence of civilization itself is undermined.

**INTERNATIONAL LAW AND THE UNDECLARED WAR.** By M. H. LIU. New York: China Institute in America, 1937, pp. 24.

A calm statement of "the nature of the undeclared war" in China and of the "rules and customs of warfare."

**THE SOUTH AMERICAN HANDBOOK, 1938.** Fifteenth Annual Edition. Edited by HOWELL DAVIES. London: Trade and Travel Publications, and New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1938, pp. ix+682.

Standard, authentic, up-to-date, and convenient, these are a few of the descriptive terms that may be applied to this handbook and travel guide to South and Central America, Mexico, and Cuba. Thus, the book literally covers more territory than its title indicates. From Argentina to Venezuela, alphabetically speaking, the reader will find a wealth of materials relating to chief cities, pleasure resorts, physical features

and climate, government, churches, parks, agricultural resources, industrial development, currency, communications, and noteworthy places to visit. Maps are also included. Small, compact, handy in compass, this guide is an essential to all travelers to South and Central America, Mexico, and Cuba for pleasure or for commercial purposes. It is also a convenient reference book for persons who are not going to Latin America but who have occasion to refer to these countries. There are numerous advertisements many of which make interesting suggestions to the traveler.

**THE PAN AMERICAN BOOK SHELF.** Pan American Union, Columbus Memorial Library. Washington, D.C., 1938, pp. 25.

This new publication, which gives a list of the books received in the Columbus Memorial Library of the Pan American Union from January 17 to February 9, 1938, is inaugurated "as a further step in the movement to strengthen the cultural ties between the nations of the American continent." The Columbus Library, it may be noted, contains about 100,000 volumes.

**THE SYNDICAL AND CORPORATIVE INSTITUTIONS OF ITALIAN FASCISM.** By G. LOWELL FIELD. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938, pp. 209.

It is a relief to find a discussion of Fascism which is free from propaganda and which bears the earmarks of both scientific reliability and an objective approach. Italian Fascism is analyzed in a threefold manner. First, there comes a treatment of dictatorial control through "an exceptionally thorough legal embodiment." Second, the official syndicates of capital and those of labor are described in their legal and structural aspects, and in their functioning with reference to contracts and litigation. Third, the "corporations" or institutions, twenty-two in number, each of which is composed of both employers and employees, are given extended consideration. Throughout the book a historical treatment is followed. As a result the evolutionary character of Fascist institutions is disclosed. The movement of authority from the top down and out, and the way in which the evolutionary rise of Fascism has evolved from a few in charge are evident. In Italian Fascism, a certain type of efficiency and a powerful concentration are substituted for that lack of orderly procedure and personal liberty which is characteristic to a degree of a democracy.

E.S.B.

**NORWEGIAN SETTLEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.**

By CARLTON C. QAULEY. Norwegian-American Historical Association, Northfield, Minn., 1938, pp. xiv+285.

This volume discusses the dispersion and settlement of Norwegians in the United States as an important part of European migration after 1825. The majority of the Norwegians in the United States settled in the upper Mississippi and Missouri valleys, or to be more specific, they have settled chiefly in Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, and the Dakotas. There are so-called "islands" of Norwegian settlers in Washington, Oregon, Montana, Idaho, eastern Colorado, Utah, Texas, California, Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey. The author deals with the leadership of early migrating groups, the factors that influenced their choice of location, and their participation in the development of representative communities. Worthy of notice are the author's comments concerning the easy assimilation of Norwegians into American life, as well as the nature of their own excellent cultural contributions to American civilization. This is a commendable population study of a folk migration that has unfortunately been brought to an end by American legislation.

J.E.N.

**EARLY MAN.** Edited by GEORGE GRANT MACCURDY. Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1937, pp. 362.

Here are made available some thirty-six papers submitted as a symposium on early man. The contributors are from many lands in several continents; they are anthropologists of national and international prominence, and in some instances their findings represent the culminations of many years of research. The papers deal with various techniques in dating prehistoric man, geological, zoological, geochronological, and other problems in stratigraphy, early migrations, prehistoric culture, and diffusion. The Old World and the New, the Occident, the Orient, and Australasia are liberally represented in the many topics. The papers are not intended to be exhaustive, and some of them may seem too brief as summaries of more extensive reports, but individually and collectively they show what a wide range of exploration is under way in contemporary anthropology and archaeology. There are also suggestions for further research in various connections. A symposium of this kind gives us the benefit of thirty-one viewpoints, including that of the able editor. An exceptional addition to the literature of anthropology, the book should not be overlooked by those who wish to keep well informed.

J.E.N.

**AN ISLAND COMMUNITY.** Ecological Succession in Hawaii.

By ANDREW W. LIND. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1938, pp. xxii+337.

Dr. Lind has penetrated deeply into the ways in which ecological principles operate in a small but uniquely populated area. He begins with land uses and shows how they have affected population changes and social growth. From "The Native on the Land" (Chapter II) to "An Island Commonwealth" (Chapter XIII), the author describes one type of land utilization after another and connects this succession with the human history of Hawaii. Hawaii is now coming of age. The population influx has declined and stabilization is taking place. A basic movement is occurring, retarded by a laissez-faire tradition and by vested interests; the trend is "toward the rational ordering of social as well as economic life in Hawaii." Tables, charts, and maps greatly aid the reader, and demonstrate the painstaking, scholarly work of the author. Thirty-four tables and twenty-two charts supported by eight appendixes reinforce the main argument effectively.

E.S.B.

**THE MIND OF PRIMITIVE MAN.** Revised Edition. By

FRANZ BOAS. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938, pp. v+285.

Many research studies in the nature and influence of heredity and also of environment have been made since Dr. Boas' first edition of this set of essays (or lectures) appeared in 1911. The author has taken account of many of these developments, and the result is a completely rewritten book. The thought is mature and safeguarded. The author holds to his earlier view that the mind of primitive man is not different from the mind of civilized man, especially in four particulars: power of attention, power of inhibition, logical thinking, and originality. He holds that primitive races and primitive cultures are not necessarily related. Levy-Bruhl's position that primitive man has a different type of mind is re-examined and found wanting. Levy-Bruhl did not study individual behavior, but confined himself to traditional beliefs and customs which smothered individual thinking. Geographic determinism and economic determinism alike are repudiated. Economics is always culturally conditioned. We all tend to attribute to our own civilization values that it does not possess. The idea that race determines culture is ill-founded. "If we were to select the best of mankind, we would find that all races and all nationalities would be represented."

E.S.B.



**POPULATION PRESSURE AND ECONOMIC LIFE IN JAPAN.** By RYOICHI ISHII. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1937, pp. xvi+259.

Exceedingly timely is this discussion of population pressure. Objective and scientific are the methods. Freedom from propaganda is another characteristic. Dr. Ishii reviews the trends of population prior to 1868 and the population policies during the Meiji period. The recent population trends, the current distribution of population in Japan, and the resultant problems of food supply are passed in review. Colonization and emigration, industrialization, birth control, and distribution of wealth are the four major possible solutions which are analyzed. The author concludes (1) that isolation under the Tokugawa regime devitalized Japanese colonization and emigration. Immigration to Manchukuo, for example, will not succeed until the living conditions there are made attractive. (2) Industrialization is proceeding more rapidly than is employment, thus creating a labor differential and serious problems of unemployment. (3) Birth control will come slowly in Japan because it involves a fundamental revision of both mental attitudes and social patterns. (4) A more equitable distribution of the national wealth calls for international co-operation in matters of free trade and of raw materials. (5) Population growth in Japan follows the trend of economic development. (6) The total social situation at any given time "is conditioned by the population movement."

E.S.B.

**SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION IN INDIA.** By RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE. Bombay: Graduate School of Social Work, 1938, pp. 37.

In a convocation address before a group of advanced social work graduates Professor Mukerjee has presented a comprehensive and clear-cut account of social welfare problems in India. Moreover, he has given the picture its proper setting in a sociological framework which makes the description understandable and meaningful. By analyzing the data in terms of social disorganization, the author has made intelligible some of the social changes that are occurring in India today. Blindness, deafness, leprosy, mental deficiency, prostitution are portrayed as results in part of the invasion of Western methods of industrialization and of "the phenomenal growth of our urban aggregations and the decay of rural-communal life." The need for a new social conscience to offset the breakdown of old social controls is urged.

E.S.B.

**THE CHINESE PEOPLE.** By GEORGE H. DANTON. Boston: Marshall Jones Co., 1938, pp. vi+312.

Extensively familiar with China through having lived there a number of years, the author explains the relation of the Chinese to their environment, and discusses their ideational and emotional life. He presents a special theory to the effect that "the Chinese language is an index of Chinese psychology." The author makes the interesting observation: "The Chinese method of thought, for all its differences, happens to be much more like ours than is that of many of the tribes of American Indians or of African Negroes, or of such peoples as speak so-called "polysynthetic" or "agglutinative" languages. The role of status reaches its extreme expressions among those Chinese who go to great lengths in order to save "face." An illustration is that of the cook who resigned in order to save "face" because of a mistake he had made. However, he returned the next day but explained he was "substituting for himself temporarily." "This substitution lasted for eighteen years." He saved "face" by resigning, and saved his job by substituting for himself. The author also shows special insight in analyzing the Chinese people in terms of their art, their religion, their education, and their nationalism.

E.S.B.

**POPULATION PROBLEMS.** By EDWARD B. REUTER. New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1937, pp. vii+508.

This revised edition of a popular text first published in 1923 is such a marked improvement that as it now stands the text appears as one of the best in its field. Statistical matter has been brought up to date and new and increased emphasis on the problem of quality of population has been made. Two new chapters on the latter aspect of population are presented, entitled "Heredity and Population Quality" and "The Eugenic Movement," respectively. The discussion throughout is stimulating and challenging, and Reuter's definition of the superior is excellent, i.e., "The superior are those, who, because of exceptional native endowment or other fact, contribute more than their proportional part to the welfare and advancement of the group and the culture." And once finding the superior, the author wisely points out that they must be ensured a training adequate to development of their capacities. The text is supremely worthy of adoption for an introductory college course in problems of population.

M.J.V.

## Social Welfare

**THE FAMILY: A DYNAMIC INTERPRETATION.** By WILLARD WALLER. New York: The Cordon Company, 1938, pp. xxii+621.

**NEW HORIZONS FOR THE FAMILY.** By UNA BERNARD SAIT. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938, pp. xxv+772.

**THE FAMILY AND THE DEPRESSION.** By RUTH SHONLE CAVAN and KATHERINE HOWLAND RANCK. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1938, pp. xi+208.

It is significant to note that a large portion of the literature on the family has appeared during the last two decades. To have three volumes on family life appear within a few weeks' time is indicative of the rapid increase of material on this subject.

Waller, a teacher of sociology, presents "a study of the family life of middle class persons in the United States of America," concentrating particularly upon the human nature element rather than upon the institutional characteristics of the family. Large use is made of social psychology. The family is thought of as a "unity of interacting personalities," a conception made famous by E. W. Burgess. The author relies heavily also on such diverse sources as Cooley, Dewey, Mead, Faris, Krueger, and MacIver. The concepts "habit" and "interaction" tie together the various chapters like a central theme. Changes in habit formation and in social interaction are noted in particular. The first part deals with the formation of personality in the parental family. Parts two and three deal respectively with courtship and marriage interaction. One chapter is devoted to parenthood and three chapters are devoted to family disorganization. While Hart, Mowrer, Folsom, and to some extent Groves have stressed the sociopsychological aspect of family experience, no one has made so much use of this approach as Waller. Selected bibliographies are given and footnotes appear throughout the volume but considerable originality is shown in the presentation of the materials.

Sait, a philosopher, is interested in social change as it has affected the historical development of the family, the characteristic trends and problems of the modern family, and home life. Large use is made of source material. The guiding principles in the philosophy of the family are largely the application of the ideas of John Dewey, particularly his philosophy of education. A unique feature of the book is the method

of presenting the historical material. Instead of tracing the development of the family through the various periods of history, the author treats the social organization, religion, economics, sex, and education of the family, one after another, in separate chapters, showing the evolution of the family in each of these fields. The central concern is with the conditions of the modern family and homemaking. An epilogue is added in which possible future developments are suggested.

*The Family and the Depression* by Cavan and Ranck is an intimate study of one hundred Chicago families who encountered the depression, most of whom experienced severe unemployment. The case records reveal three stages in the experiences of these families: (1) the conditions prior to the depression; (2) the crisis occasioned by unemployment and lowered income, which affected not only their mode of living but the previously established roles and ambitions, and which in many cases necessitated receiving public relief; and (3) the resolution of the crisis, either through some form of adjustment or by evasion or disintegration. The Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research had records of these cases before the onset of the depression. The families range from the well-organized to the partially disorganized. The economic impact of the depression had a terrifying effect on some of the families who successively passed through fear of unemployment, lowered income, unemployment, loss of property and savings, relief, and eventual disorganization. Adjustments were made to the new situation by many of the families after the first shock of unemployment had passed. Most of the families had vague ideas about the depression and its causes, although some had particularistic explanations, but many had definite ideas about relief. "The depression seems remote, vague, impersonal; relief is immediate, specific, personal."

M.H.N.

**DISADVANTAGED CLASSES IN AMERICAN AGRICULTURE.** By CARL C. TAYLOR, HELEN W. WHEELER, and E. L. KIRKPATRICK. United States Department of Agriculture: The Farm Security Administration and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics Co-operating. Social Research Report No. VIII. Washington, D.C.: April, 1938, pp. 124.

This is a descriptive study attempting to designate the rural slum areas of America. Tangible evidences of disadvantageous conditions were used to measure the economic and social status of farmers in the several agricultural sections of the United States. It was discovered that one third of farm people live in areas which may be considered "rural slums" and have standards of living correspondingly low.

J.B.

**SOCIAL CASE RECORDING.** By GORDON HAMILTON. Second revised edition. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938, pp. x+219.

Miss Hamilton's revised second edition of *Social Case Recording* contains valuable material not included in the first edition. In addition to new illustrations and a clarification of terminology with regard to the main recording forms, the chapter on "Recording in Public Assistance" has been rewritten to conform more closely to conditions in public assistance agencies. The new glossary of recording terms which has been appended is very helpful. With these additions to the original material it constitutes an outstanding book in its field.

To workers in social agencies, to students, and to teachers alike this book offers a wealth of material on the subject of recording with which all are directly concerned. Although Miss Hamilton states that her book is neither a manual nor a scientific treatise, it is a book which will prove useful and stimulating to all who are professionally concerned with social case recording. Her style is direct and pleasing, her content inclusive, practical, and exceedingly well illustrated with examples of the various types of recording. The chapter on "Recording of Process" is especially pertinent. In this day when attempts are being made to have recording indicate "the manner in which one person appears to relate himself to another person during the therapeutic experience," it is instructive to have illustrations of the various methods used and to have these methods analyzed and evaluated.

Miss Hamilton's book should be especially useful to supervisors of students or beginning workers. All social workers will find it a helpful reference.

E.B.McC.

**A TEST ON MANNERS.** By MARGARET B. STEPHENSON and RUTH L. MILLETT. Bloomington, Illinois: McKnight and McKnight, 1938, pp. 15.

The authors of *A Test on Manners* have made an attempt to present information concerning etiquette for juveniles through the play method. In their booklet, *How Do You Do?* they give the answers to the questions which they ask in their *Test on Manners*. Boys' and girls' clubs, church groups, and school classes will find this material excellent in giving training in manners to young people.

H.H.P.



**CITY AND CHURCH IN TRANSITION.** By MURRAY H. LEIFFER. Chicago: Willett, Clark and Company, 1938, pp. xv+301.

A wealth of material is supplied in this volume on the medium-sized city from 50,000 to 150,000 people which is designated "Mediopolis." The main purpose is to indicate what is happening to the church in the medium-sized American city. Much of the material was furnished by three hundred and sixty-three ministers from nine hundred and forty in-between urban centers.

The first part of the book deals with the characteristics of "Mediopolis" and its four variants—commercial, industrial, residential, and resort cities. The industrial city, some distance away from a large metropolitan center, is distinguished from an industrial suburb. The interplay of modern trends in city life is noted. Particular attention is given to occupational distribution in each of these types of urban areas. Organized religion in "Mediopolis" changes as the city grows. The particular problems faced by churches in each of the varied types of cities studied in the first part are described. Suggestions are given as to how the church may relate itself more closely to the community. The conviction is expressed that the church which has sent its roots deep into local soil is the one to which the community will respond.

The reader will note new material and ideas developing as he reads chapter after chapter, and for the church leaders many pertinent suggestions are offered for the improvement of the church program. Bibliography and footnotes are conspicuously absent, but since much of the material comes from first-hand observation and replies to questionnaires, one may expect fewer references to printed sources.

M.H.N.

**EFFECTS OF THE WORKS PROGRAM ON RURAL RELIEF.**

By REBECCA FARNHAM and IRENE LINK. Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research, Research Monograph XIII. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1938, pp. 115.

The report of a study made to ascertain some of the effects of the transference in 1935 of needy rural families from the FERA to other forms of public relief is herein published. Seven states were surveyed, and each varied from the others considerably in its relief redistribution programs. Variations in WPA programs were particularly emphasized.

**CRIME AND THE COMMUNITY.** By FRANK TANNENBAUM.  
New York: Ginn and Company, 1938, pp. xiv+487.

Professor Tannenbaum sees crime as a community problem and a community responsibility. He sees the roots of crime as a complex of unadjustment in the home, school, industry, and urban life in general. But into the criminal pattern he intertwines politics, the police, legalistic courts and judges, prisons, and the entire system of punishment. He seriously questions the contribution of psychiatrists to the criminal and the court. He advocates the use of case work procedures in probation, parole, and reform schools. But since Professor Tannenbaum is not a case worker he does not tell us the methods and procedures of case work we may use in the rehabilitation of the adult offender. He realizes that considerable research is needed before any techniques of individualized treatment are worked out in this field.

While the book does not present a new point of view, it makes stimulating and interesting reading. It stresses the conception of crime as a social product of a civilization in transition. It stresses the urgent necessity of further study and analysis. It regards the present system of punishment as "an empty and expensive exercise in futility, ending only in chagrin and bitterness and further crime and further punishment." Professor Tannenbaum hopes that study and research into the problem will reveal what alternative to punishment may be used. To some extent the book contradicts itself. If crime is the social product of a civilization in transition, neither punishment nor the alternatives which research into crime may reveal can be expected to offer a solution in this field.

The book is well organized and scholarly. The bibliographies at the end of each chapter are well selected and exhaustive. The case data are well chosen. The book is very readable and teachable.

P.V.Y.

**AMERICAN FOUNDATIONS FOR SOCIAL WELFARE.** Revised Edition. Compiled by Russell Sage Foundation Library.  
New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1938, pp. 66.

An alphabetically arranged directory of American foundations for social welfare has been compiled by the Russell Sage Foundation Library and published in this pamphlet. The purposes and offices of the foundations as well as the amount of established funds are included in a short paragraph about each foundation.

J.B.

THE PUBLIC ASSISTANCE WORKER. Edited by RUSSELL H. KURTZ. New York: The Russell Sage Foundation, 1938, pp. vi+224.

The material in this volume, presented by six persons, is designed to aid the public assistance worker in fulfilling his responsibility to the applicant, the community, and to himself. The primary concern is with the ways in which aid may be given. "Its emphasis is on the 'human' rather than the routine aspects of the service rendered." After a sketch of the history of public assistance in the United States, the writers present practical information and suggestions as to who shall be granted public aid, how much, in what form, and how to deal with persons in need. The individualization of treatment is stressed, based upon the conviction that people in need differ markedly one from the other. Not only must the individual's needs be kept in mind but the social worker must have a clear picture of the total welfare services available to meet the needs of any particular person who may come to him for aid. Such work requires skill, resourcefulness, and understanding. Hence, social work requires special training and a broad educational background.

M.H.N.

POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY IN CAPE TOWN. By O. J. M. WAGNER. Cape Town, Union of South Africa: The Standard Press, pp. xiii+147.

This sociological study of 3,300 dependents receiving assistance from the Cape Town General Board of Aid was presented as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Stellenbosch. It covers the financial circumstances of the recipients of relief and their spatial distribution over the city and an analysis of certain factors and conditions of the clients, with a view of discovering their causal connection with dependency. The places and origin of previous residence; personal factors of age, sex, and race; health conditions; educational and occupational qualifications of the dependents and their children; and the influence of unemployment were studied by means of an analysis of case papers, a special card index system, and a short survey. The General Board of Aid has given the greatest attention to the investigation of the financial position of the applicant for relief and has neglected the study of those causal factors which is necessary for effective rehabilitation work. The objectives of social work according to the results of the study are chiefly the economic and social rehabilitation of the clients.

M.H.N.

URBAN BLIGHT AND SLUMS. By MABLE L. WALKER. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938, pp. xxviii+442.

This twelfth volume in the Harvard City Planning Series is concerned with one of the major urban problems—the extent and spread of blighted areas and slums. While most of the material pertains to factors involved in rehabilitation, particularly land planning, deflation of property values, land assembly, taxation, financing, and construction problems, yet much is of interest to sociologists in understanding the conditions of disintegrated or deteriorating urban areas. The various definitions of the slum stress that it is a residential area in which predominate dwellings that are dilapidated, obsolescent, overcrowded, poorly arranged, and which lack proper ventilation, light, and sanitary facilities, making them detrimental to safety, health, or morals of the inhabitants thereof. A blighted area is one that is on the down grade, but has not yet reached the slum stage. The deteriorating forces have reduced the economic and social values to such an extent that rehabilitation is necessary to forestall the development of a slum condition. The origin, characteristics, and housing conditions of blighted areas are emphasized. Proper planning, zoning, building regulation, and taxing policies will go a long way toward preventing blight, but governmental efforts must be accompanied by raising the level of incomes and by lowering the cost of housing.

M.H.N.

RURAL YOUTH ON RELIEF. By BRUCE L. MELVIN. Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research, Research Monograph XI, Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1937.

This Monograph gives a complete picture through graphs and analyses of the status of rural youth in the United States. The unlimited opportunities of the wide open spaces are gone and the effects of rearing young America in the homes of farmers on relief is not only ruinous to their personalities but developing a permanent injury to society. The important problem presented herein is "prevention of the need for relief" for the farmers of tomorrow. The material gives striking details of youth on relief including numbers, location, personal characteristics, educational status, occupations, and youth programs of emergency agencies.

Co-ordinated action of all available agencies, permanent and emergency, is considered vital in meeting the problem of youth on relief.

A.S.B.

## Social Education

IS AMERICAN RADIO DEMOCRATIC? By S. E. FROST, JR.  
Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1937, pp. xv+234.

Dr. S. E. Frost, Jr., Assistant Professor of Education at Adelphi College and an associate of the National Advisory Council on radio in education undertakes in this splendidly conceived book an inquiry into the nature of the extent to which the present system of regulation, control, and operation of American radio meets or fails in the matter of contributing to the democratic way of life. The author holds that the radio may be an instrument for enhancing individual and collective welfare, enlisting itself for the enrichment of life, or it may be a means for destroying all that is good, and exciting "blind passion and unconsidered action." Its place in educating thousands is obvious, and, thinks Dr. Frost, the educator as a "philosopher of the process in which he is engaged," should be "concerned with the difficult problem of squaring radio policy and program practice with the needs and demands of the society of his day and place in terms of what society may become."

The Federal Communications Act of 1934 has held that the radio must be utilized in accord with "public interest, convenience, or necessity," the "listener's" welfare being emphasized. Since, however, a great majority of station owners are primarily concerned with profits, their programs are created with that idea in mind and not with the welfare of the listener. "The fact that broadcasts by Consumers' Research and other similar organizations are violently opposed by advertisers is convincing proof that profit and not public welfare is of paramount concern with the vast majority of advertisers." Professor Frost notes the chief characteristic of modern radio as that of a field wherein two more or less clearly defined groups are working at cross purposes. The one group is the profit group, but the other consists of a growing number of people who are insisting that welfare be considered first, and profits only secondarily. This latter group insists that the purpose of American radio be to "serve the democratic way of life." Many good constructive suggestions are formulated by the author for increasing the value of radio as an instrument of democracy, an important one being that studies should be made of the problem of "program domination by the large broadcasting chains" in an effort to preserve their values and to eliminate "the threat which they offer to democracy." The book is most valuable for the educator and sociologist, and for those interested in the maintenance of democracy.

M.J.V.



**REDISCOVERING THE ADOLESCENT.** By HEDLEY S. DIMOCK. New York: Association Press, 1937, pp. 277.

This book is a study of personality development in adolescent boys dealing with play pursuits, personality and behavior, the choosing of friends, the seeking of status, emancipation from parents, moral and religious thinking, formation of groups, puberty, pubescence and physical growth, and toward an understanding of the adolescent. Dr. Dimock deals with some two hundred boys over a period of two years and thus covers the critical period of prepubescence to postpubescence for a considerable portion of them. Some of the findings differ from what is generally believed, especially in theories of relation of sex development to growth or change in play interests, religious ideas, and certain other aspects of personality. There are thirty-two elaborate tables and thirty-eight charts and graphs. Readers will find this book thought-provoking with its new interpretation of adolescence.

E.S.N.

**THE ANATOMY OF PERSONALITY.** By HOWARD W. HAGGARD and CLEMETS C. FRY. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1936, pp. xi+350.

As the title of the book indicates, it deals with the basic components of personality which are listed as physique, intelligence, temperament, ego, and impulse. These inborn elements may be conditioned and directed but not changed; the reaction between them and environment develops character. As stated in the preface the aim of the authors is to present in popular style, "a concept of the structural analysis of personality." There are few technical terms and many very interesting illustrations.

H.K.

**FINDING YOUR WORK.** By J. GUSTAV WHITE. New York: Association Press, 1938, pp. 64.

This is a "vocational first-aid for the puzzled youth" of the United States. Some of its themes are: "What am I cut out for?" "Who will help me?" "Getting along with others," "Landing the first job," and "Vocational growth." The author has had extensive experience in the field of counseling youth and has been persuaded to share the ripe fruits of his careful thinking with a wide audience.

PRIMARY MENTAL ABILITIES. By L. L. THURSTONE.  
(Psychometric Monographs, No. 1) Chicago: The University  
of Chicago Press, 1938, pp. ix+121.

Professor Thurstone applies to a basic psychological problem the theory of factor analysis which he recently developed in his *Vectors of Mind*. Using a battery of fifty-six carefully chosen pencil and paper tests upon 218 college-level volunteer subjects he seeks to identify the primary mental abilities. Painstaking use of refined statistical methods has enabled him to identify seven such primary abilities: the spatial factor *S*, the perceptual factor *P*, the numerical factor *N*, the verbal factor *V*, the word factor *W*, the memory factor *M*, the inductive factor *I*, and two other factors, *R* (reasoning?) and *D* (deduction?), which have been only tentatively identified.

It is to be noted that the study did not reveal the presence of the general factor of Spearman. Also there are no distinct reasoning factors for verbal, numerical, and spatial materials but simply two factors "inductive" and "deductive"; there are two verbal factors and not one as commonly assumed; and there is but one visual factor for both flat space and solid space.

While a number of assumptions must necessarily be made as to the statistical character of the data under consideration and as to the applicability of the methods to such data, it is already apparent that Professor Thurstone has devised new powerful tools of statistical analysis whose employment in other fields of research is urgently called for.

E.F.Y.

---

## Social Thought

SOCIOLOGY: A BRIEF OUTLINE. By KEWAL MOTWANI.  
Madras, India: Gauesh and Co., 1937, pp. viii+77.

In this brief compact treatment of sociology this Outline introduces the reader to the main approaches to the subject. The author shows himself conversant with a wide range of sociological literature. The author introduces an Eastern viewpoint and reacts against a materialistic interpretation of society. Eddington is quoted with good purpose: "We cannot take the square-root of a poem." Moreover, membership in society imposes certain obligations.

B.H.K.

**SOCIAL THOUGHT FROM LORE TO SCIENCE.** By HARRY E. BARNES and HOWARD BECKER. New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1938, 2 vols., pp. xxiv+1178.

To review adequately these two volumes is impossible in a limited space. Harry Elmer Barnes has brought his widespread knowledge of history and of political and social science to bear on long stretches of human history and Professor Becker has filled in the open spaces and put his sociological knowledge and editing ability to good use in rounding out the whole.

The volumes begin with preliterate peoples and move on to the ancient Far East and Near East, in other words, they begin with "lore" in its original sense. Greek, Roman, and Christian social thought follow in succession. The Middle Ages and the succeeding centuries bring the treatment up to August Comte. Considerable attention is given to such writers as Augustine, Aquinas, Ibn Khaldun, Dante, Machiavelli, More, Bodin, Hobbes, Rousseau, Hume, Montesquieu, Bentham, and Smith. The social ideas and systems of Comte, Spencer, and Darwin are reviewed and compared. Socialist thought is presented and criticized.

Volume II follows a different plan. Current sociological thought is analyzed in terms of the various countries of the world and of the varied conditions found in these countries. Sociology in England, France, Belgium, Germany, Holland, United States, Italy, Russia, Eastern Europe and Turkey, Latin Europe and Latin America, and the Orient is treated in the order given. The resulting picture is unique, but uneven. The prominence of individuals working more or less alone is evident throughout. The need for co-operative thinking in the social science as well as in the sociological field cannot be seriously questioned.

The authors undertook a far-flung task and carried it through to a remarkably satisfactory fruition, when all the difficulties are considered, and the hundreds and literally thousands of references that must be consulted are kept in mind. The indexes to names of authors include about 4,000 different persons. About 100 pages of notes (that is, footnotes) in fine print are also testimony to the immense amount of research that has been done. The style is for the most part descriptive and clear. The countless threads of thought have been presented in their natural relationships with a minimum amount of confusion to the reader. Helpful summaries are given from time to time. The interpretations and points of emphasis depend of course on the authors' backgrounds and ideologies. A more extended synthetic presentation at the end of the treatise is needed.

E.S.B.

**ARCHITECTS OF IDEAS.** By ERNEST R. TRATTNER. New York: Carrick and Evans, Inc., 1938, pp. 426.

While the book was written and published admittedly for the layman, it is none the less valuable for the mature student of theory. The author has skillfully presented theories that have been of revolutionary importance and on which the structure of human knowledge is presumably based. The fields represented range widely in astronomy, physics, chemistry, social sciences, medicine, et cetera. With emphasis on Copernicus, Hutton, Dalton, Lavoisier, Rumford, Huygens, Malthus, Schwann, Darwin, Marx, Pasteur, Freud, Chamberlin, Boas, and Einstein, with engaging biography and story, the author has nevertheless used them as nuclei for a galaxy of other contributing scientists for which the fifteen mentioned stand out as suns. There are indeed few books that have succeeded in making a discussion of theory as interesting as this one. The real ideas molding our civilization are all too few and far between, and in the sequence from Copernicus to Einstein they are admirably given setting and perspective by the author.

J.E.N.

**FUNDAMENTALS OF SOCIOLOGY.** By LOUIS A. BOETTIGER. New York: Ronald Press Company, 1938, pp. xiii+752.

The author divides sociology into three general divisions, namely: processes, human traits, and structures. Under processes, he treats invention and imitation, conflict and co-operation, individualization and socialization, superordination and subordination, association and dissociation, competition and regulation, and social integration. It is not clear why the author classifies "incentive and deterrence" as processes. Part II on "Human Traits" includes hereditary traits, sex traits, and instinct and habit. Again, the logic is questionable of putting "racial geography" under human traits, for everything that affects human traits obviously cannot be incorporated in Part II. The concluding Part on "Social Structures" deals with plurality patterns, destitution and relief, crime and punishment, employment, marriage and the family, population, religion, science, and politics.

The book contains a wealth of materials. It is well written. The viewpoint is sound. The organization of materials and the use of titles, however, will prove confusing to many college students.

B.H.K.

## Social Politics

**SOCIAL WELFARE LAWS OF THE FORTY-EIGHT STATES.** WENDELL HUSTON, Compiler. Seattle, Washington: Wendell Huston Company, 1937.

Although terminology varies somewhat for the several states, the kinds of social welfare laws included in this revision may be classified generally as follows: responsibility for indigents, or poor relief; department of social or public welfare; county or other adjustment schools for minors; juvenile court law; adoption law; miscellaneous legislation regarding marriage, divorce, illegitimacy, maternity, et cetera; minimum wage and employment of women and minors; social insurance for unemployment, old age security, aid to needy children, the needy blind, and so on. The federal social security act is also included, owing to its recent influences on state legislation. All of these laws include amendments up to the time of publication. Its usefulness as a handy reference volume is readily apparent.

J.E.N.

**THE SEVEN SOVIET ARTS.** By KURT LONDON. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938, pp. xvi+381.

Here we have a glimpse into the U.S.S.R. from a side that has been too much neglected in current literature. In Soviet Russia art is supposed to be for the people, but the author points out that "those in whose eyes the new Soviet Constitution was the fulfilment of a dream, who hoped to see the influence of the Soviet Union effect the restoration of fast-disappearing human rights all over the world, behold with dismay the increasing strength of the spirit of bureaucracy and reaction which is systematically restricting the freedom of creative activity." A historical and descriptive sketch is given for each of the traditional arts, music, literature, theater, opera, ballet, beaux arts, and architecture. The list of contributors in each field is significantly rich, the works of each person being skillfully evaluated by criticism or praise, and the author has shown himself exceptionally well qualified for the task. Russian achievements in radio and films are similarly appreciated. The place of the arts, films, theater, and radio in the cultural training of children provides one of the most interesting sections of the book. One can but hope that the people of Russia will be left free to express themselves in the several arts without undue bureaucratic supervision which might spoil it. Art is not born by command of any regime nor does it



thrive subject to excessive control. The results thus far, regardless of such handicaps in the rapidly changing Russia, are encouraging.

J.E.N.

#### SOCIAL INSURANCE LEGISLATION AND STATISTICS.

By BENOY KUMAR SARKAR. Calcutta, India: The Calcutta Press, 1936, pp. xxii+446.

This treatise has as subtitle, "A Study in the Labour Economics and Business Organization of Neo-Capitalism." After presenting general introductory data regarding systems of social insurance and the socio-economic structure of the labor world, there are analyzed several forms of insurance, viz.: sickness and maternity insurance, accident and occupational disease insurance, invalidity and old age, and unemployment insurance. For each of these the author defines terms, indicates the chronological order of development for all countries concerned, the nature of organization, contributions, compensation or benefits. While dealing with the world-wide development of each form, this book is of course unique in its emphasis or inclusion of detail concerning experience with social insurance in India. The author shows a wide range of observation, gives useful comparisons of typical systems in operation in various countries, and finally considers aspects of social insurance in relationship to neocapitalism or neosocialism.

J.E.N.

#### ANTI-BELLUM NORTH CAROLINA: A SOCIAL HISTORY.

By GUION GRIFFIS JOHNSON. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937, pp. xxvi+935.

The currents of life and thought in North Carolina from the Revolutionary period to the Civil War are described in a vivid and concise manner. A vast amount of material, gathered over a period of thirteen years, has been organized in a masterly way to show the process of social change during the years from 1800 to 1860 which were destined to shape the future of the state. During this time the state emerged from the simplicities of the frontier to the complexities of a new social order. Beginning with a description of colonial origins and the social characteristics and classes of pioneer people, the author presents the story of change in rural life, the town and its life, courtship and marriage, family life, schools and educational methods, churches, religious revivals and benevolence, the slave system and its code, the social life of the slave, the antislavery sentiment and the free Negro, the court system and the criminal code, the care of unfortunates, sanitation and health, the news-

paper and periodical press, and the intellectual awakening. While these changes were going on, the average individual did his work, went to church on Sunday, paid his taxes, and carried on his social life and obligations, not realizing life around him was undergoing profound transformations until on all sides he heard echoes of reform.

This study was financed by the Institute for Research in Social Science of the University of North Carolina and is one of the first studies of the historical development of the social structure of a state over a given period. Abundant references to sources are given on nearly every page and the bibliography covers seventy-seven pages.

M.H.N.

**POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY.** Edited by MAX ASCOLI and FRITZ LEHMANN. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1937, pp. 336.

The problems of modern democracy have become increasingly challenging at many points, and in this symposium quite a few of the more commonly recognized problems are discussed. Representative topics deal with economic planning, trade unions, labor conflicts, monopolies, utilities, forms of co-operation, political institutions, nationalism, foreign policy, and other subjects deserving emphasis in a modern philosophy of democracy. There are twenty-one stimulating chapters by a group of nineteen notable European scholars who, as Alvin Johnson says in the foreword, "translate American experience into European terms and European experience into American terms, to the end that the essential conditions of our common modern civilization may be better understood." Liberal and broad in viewpoint, this book should prove valuable in contemporary social science.

J.E.N.

**GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.** By CLAUDIUS O. JOHNSON. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 2nd edition, 1937, pp. xii+735.

Featuring a functional approach, the plan of this book is remarkably simple and coherent. The general order of sequence is the constitutional background, the electoral system, the functions of the executive, legislative, judicial, and administrative systems, and for each of these main topics there are given first the federal, then the state or more local aspects. There are also included at useful points chapters on civil rights, civil service, finance, regulation and promotion of commerce and busi-

ness, a functional survey of government in labor, agriculture, and conservation of natural resources, also important developments in public safety, health, and social welfare. So well knit are the national, state, and local relationships that the author creates out of his data a comprehensive national system of government which functions federally, which is of course the proper viewpoint. The author stresses basic principles that clarify and unify the entire system and that need to be understood in order to promote the best American citizenship. In spite of its length and quantity of detail, this revised edition should again prove popular because of its readable style.

J.E.N.

---

## Group Work

**PROBLEMS IN SOCIAL GROUP WORK.** Edited by WALTER L. STONE. Nashville, Tenn.: Informal Education Service, 1938, pp. viii+92.

Besides making contributions of his own the editor has brought together brief generalized statements by fourteen contributors in this discussion of group work. Club work, recreational work, and informal educational work are all represented. Twenty-nine "units" are offered. Each unit includes "exercises and problems" and a list of references. The result is a useful study guide for discussion groups interested in the nature, objectives, and methods of group work. Special topics include: group work and social action, group therapy, group-work records, group work in camping, and group work and democracy. This guide is a testimony to the fact that social group work is becoming aware of itself as a profession and is engaged in self-examination and redefinition.

B.H.K.

**COLLEGE PIONEERING.** By JOSEPH ERNEST McAFEE. Kansas City, Missouri: Alumni Parkana Committee, 1938, pp. 264.

The social, religious, and educational life of Park College, Parkville, Missouri, during the early years of its existence is realistically described in this book which is the second volume published by the Alumni Parkana Committee. The founders of this college believed that the purpose of education was to learn the art of living by participating in a life of usefulness; therefore, the curriculum is organized around the three

symbols: head, hand, and heart. The scholastic system and necessity for rigorous discipline are represented in the head. The hand indicates the self-help program, a unique feature, whereby every student is a member of the community necessitating the co-operation of all if one is to succeed. The importance of religion in living a complete life is signified by the heart.

M.A.P.

**GROUP ADJUSTMENT, A Study in Experimental Sociology.** By W. I. NEWSTETTER and associates. Cleveland: School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, 1938, pp. xv+154.

Unique in many ways is this document. It takes a step forward in the field of "experimental sociology," which is defined as the study of "the objective behavioristic manifestations of a series of psychological interactions between the individual and the other members of the group." Experimental sociology in this sense is pronounced "the theoretical discipline on the basis of which a large portion of the structure of group work rests."

This document pushes research in the group work field several leagues ahead. It is based on observational studies of boys in the Wawokiye Camp over a period of years and according to carefully prescribed methods. Actually the main contribution of this study is in the field of research methods in studying the group process. Special attention is given to a personal preference index and then to measuring selected phases of interaction "through behavior observations." Reliability is established for these indexes. The social group is defined in terms of "compresence," "interaction," and "bond." It is phases of these characteristics of group life for which measurement formulae are worked out. These measurement techniques will doubtless receive further refinement and then they will be used widely.

Among the conclusions offered are the following: low correlation between cordiality shown by an individual to others and the group status of that individual; high correlation between cordiality received by an individual from others and his group status; interactions are not the results of measurable traits; the best way to study the social adjustment of an individual, perhaps, is "not to study his behavior but the behavior of others toward him." This piece of research should go a long way in stimulating further scientific study of group life, and in giving to social group work the undergirding of scientific validity.

E.S.B.

**METHODS IN GROUP WORK.** By ALICE H. COLLINS. New York: The Woman's Press, 1938, pp. 123.

Three chapters are devoted to group work philosophy; eight chapters, to practical activities, namely, play, discussion, self-government, parties, arts and handicrafts, music, dramatics, and trips; and three concluding chapters to leadership problems. All the materials are based on "learnings from case work experience."

Group work philosophy centers in the ability of groups to aid in personality adjustment. The various group work programs should serve this philosophy. Each of several concrete illustrations of group activity is analyzed in terms of its effects on the individual members. The group work leader needs to be emotionally mature, to have left his childish needs for approval behind him, to be willing to "lead the group members away from a dependence on him to friendships among themselves." He will not be satisfied to see that both sides of a question are considered; he will help the members to discover how the given problem came about, why individuals act the way they do and what are the different ways of solving the problem. He will assist the members not to take sides but "to think and how to act on their conclusions."

E.S.B.

**GROUP WORK IN CAMPING.** By LOUIS H. BLUMENTHAL. New York: Association Press, 1937, pp. xv+100.

Sound group work principles and practices are embodied in these lectures on camping. The camp is viewed first as a group, and then the functioning of the group in camp is considered. The counselor and his function, camp leadership, and camp controls are discussed. Group work in camping is defined as "a conscious, directive force, generated by the interactions of leader, camper, and group, which aims at the creation of a dynamic environment that will provide opportunities for the constructive release of the powers of the individual and the group." The "camp personality" is described as "open, outreaching, expansive, full of life and fun, tolerant, sympathetic." The camp process is a part of the social process which is "a stream of experience arising out of the interactions among people." Both individualization and socialization are the two basic phases of the social process and hence of the camp process. Camp groups are educationally valuable (1) when they provide for the fulfillment of many of the camper's interests and (2) when they give campers opportunities for formulating and selecting the camp activities.

E.S.B.



## Social Drama

SHADOW AND SUBSTANCE. A Play in Four Acts. By PAUL VINCENT CARROLL. New York: Random House, 1937, pp. 176.

Taking for the essence of his theme the legend of St. Brigid's disfiguration of her facial loveliness in order to escape the attention of admirers, dramatist Carroll has written this fascinatingly beautiful drama of the power that lies in the serene simplicity of faith. In the Irish household of the proud, stern, and yet very human Canon Skerritt lives a simple maidservant, Brigid, whose abiding faith in the power of the saints and of the church and in mankind far transcends that of the Canon himself. Brigid is supremely devoted to the welfare of the Canon and to the teacher in the village school, Dermot O'Flingsley. Dermot and the Canon are not in perfect accord over the type of education administered by church control and Dermot, to Brigid's sorrow, is continually annoying the Canon. Moreover, he has secretly written a book denouncing the strangling of education by the church. The book arouses the ire of two assistant churchmen who demand that the Canon suppress it, and when the latter refuses, they stir up the villagers. When the authorship becomes known to them, Dermot becomes the center of attack.

To add to the Canon's anxiety over the matter at this time, Brigid finally reveals a long-time secret of hers. She has lived in beautiful serenity because she has been in constant communication with St. Brigid, whose face appears before her at intervals and who she says advises her what to do. When she tells the Canon of this, he believes her to be mentally fatigued and attempts to reason with her, telling her that the legend is a myth which even the Church does not confirm. Her faith has substance however, and the shadowy faith of the Canon seems to make her actually unwell, for the Canon will not understand. When the villagers riot, Brigid, who has been placed in the charge of an older woman, escapes. A brick hurled at Dermot hits Brigid, and she is brought back to the house of the Canon, her face disfigured and covered with blood. The Canon sends for medical help but Brigid dies firm in the belief that St. Brigid has sent for her. The play is meant to demonstrate that simple faith has abiding and uplifting spiritual qualities that can triumph over empty materiality. Its lines show evidences of being written with a quiet force that makes for powerful drama at times, and the interest of the reader is sustained throughout.

The play has had a long run on the New York stage, probably testifying to the strange dramatic power that lurks in many of its situations. Certainly, too, the playwright has contributed to the play two of the most intriguing characters in this season's plays, that of the Canon, and that of Brigid, shadow and substance personified.

M.J.V.

---

## Social Photoplay

*Robin Hood's* strong points are to be found in the excellence of the color photography, of the lighting effects, of special scenes, such as Robin's outlaws swinging out of the trees in their surprise attack. The combat and duel scenes are unduly prolonged. Two romances play minor roles. The social significance of the picture lies in the secondary role played by Robin and his cohorts as defenders of the poor who are treated unjustly by Prince John, the usurper, and his coterie of social plunderers. The picture presents Robin Hood's outlaw tactics in defense of the weak against the ruthlessness of the wealthy barons as being entirely justified. The clergy is shown as an ally of the rich in their cruel and unjust treatment of the poor. Upon the return of Richard the Lion-hearted from his Crusade, justice presumably is enthroned, the weak are protected, and the inhuman rich are punished. Although the social theme is unwoven in a purely secondary way perhaps its indirection and subtleness increase its significance and force.

E.S.B.